PAKISTAN AFFAIRS

for CSS & PCS Students

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

JOIN ME FOR EASY ACCESS TO EBOOKS & NOTES
+92310-545-450-3
Css Aspirants ebooks & Notes
https://m.facebook.com/groups/458184410965870
Css Aspirants Forum
http://t.me/CssAspirantsForum
Rules of the group.
*No irrelevant text/pic Islamic pic/videos
*No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked
*Personal text w/o Mutual consent Consider harassment.
Separate Group For Females with verfication
The CSS Group does not hold any rights on shared the Books & Notes
I,m not Responsible for Copyrights.
This book/notes downloaded from the internet.

REFORMERS

Shah Wali Ullah

Shah Wali Ullah was born in 1703. He belonged to a family of religious preachers. He was raised up in an environment where people use to have discourses on Quran, shariah, Muslim morality and social values. His father was a religious scholar of repute. Madrasa Rahimia was established by father of Shah Wali Ullah, Shah Abdur Rahim in Delhi. This madrasa served the Muslims of Northern India. Shah Wali Ullah received his early education from the same college. After graduating he started to teach over there. He continued teaching till 1730 when he went to Saudia Arabia for further studies in theology. There he spent more than a year. During his stay there he met Sheikh Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim for whom he had great regard. He returned to sub-continent with a vivid aim in his mind to serve the Muslims of sub-continent and Islam.

When he was just 4 years old in 1707 the last Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir died and the history of sub-continent took a new turn and the power and social status of Muslims in sub-continent started to decline. Since his death the political decline of Mughals and social decline of Muslims started and it is still declining. Shah Wali Ullah experienced this decline as he grew up and was worried about it. Throughout his life he wanted to revive Islam and the status of Muslims in the subcontinent he tried to solve problems faced by Muslims systematically.

Weaknesses of Muslims of subcontinent. (realized by Shah Wali Ullah).

I. Muslims were not following Islam according to its true teaching because they didn't understand it properly.
II. Muslims were divided among themselves on the basis of different sects.
III. Muslims were indulging themselves in the luxuries of life.
IV. Muslims were losing status and their rule in Subcontinent because of loss of political power.

His social principles:-

He propagated the principles of Adl and Tawazun, "Adl" means Justice and 'Tawazun" means equilibrium. He persuaded Muslims to practice these principal in their daily lives to make their lives better. He believed that these two principles are the back bone of any economy and through this Muslims can make their economic conditions better.

Importance:-

Shah Wali Ullah was one of the most important religious reformers of Subcontinent. There are other reformers as well however Shah Wali Ullah is the most prominent amongst them. He not only tried to bring Muslims closer to their religion but he had a complete chalked out plan for the restoration of Muslim power in India. Another distinction he has is that he propagated such ideals which were long lasting and applicable at any time. For example unity of Muslims and proper understanding of Islam by them.

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Barelvi:

He was a very ambitious man who wanted to see Muslims of India in a better position than they were. He was born in 1786 in Barely. He belonged to Hasni Syed family. It is believed that he was distantly related to Shah Wali Ullah. In his early days he wanted to become a religious scholar but he lacked the abilities required to become one. His ambition brought him to Shah Abdul Aziz, son of Shah Wali Ullah. Shah Abdul Aziz He guided him about his future and told him that if he really wanted to do something for Muslims he should conduct Jihad for the Muslims where ever the Muslims are in need and weak. Shah Abdul Aziz declared India "Darul Harb", place of war or a place where Muslims cannot live their lives according to the teachings of Islam. For this purpose Syed Ahmed was not properly trained. He needed some to guide him in the art of warfare and teach all that is need to plan and conduct attacks on the enemy and how to survive when attacked. For this purpose Shah Abdul Aziz sent Syed Ahmed Shaheed to Amir Khan a commander of Pathan army to get combat and military training.

Haji Sharyat Ullah:

He was a very devoted Muslim who wanted to serve Islam. He was worried about the situation of Muslims of sub-continent and wanted to bring a change in their condition. After some time he came up with the conclusion that Muslims have stop observing the obligatory prayers like Namaz, Roza, Zakat etc.

He started Faraizi Movement with the believe that by offering all the obligatory prayers Muslims would become better and closer to Islamic values.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

JOIN ME FOR EASY ACCESS TO EBOOKS & NOTES
+92-310-545-450-3
Css Aspirants ebooks & Notes
https://m.facebook.com/groups/458184410965870
Css Aspirants Forum
http://t.me/CssAspirantsForum
Rules of the group.
*No irrelevant text/pic Islamic pic/videos
*No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked
*Personal text w/o Mutual consent Consider harassment.
Separate Group For Females with verfication
The CSS Group does not hold any rights on shared the Books & Notes
I,m not Responsible for Copyrights.
This book/notes downloaded from the internet.

The Advent of British:

In 1600 C.E. East India Company was established in England. Queen Elizabeth granted the charter to East India Company to trade in areas East of Africa. This included Sub-continent, Indonesia, and Malaysia etc. In the start the East India Company tried their luck in islands of Indonesia but they were unable to extract desirable profits from there. To make trading more difficult they had a formidable opposition in the form of Dutch. The Islands of Indonesia were already claimed by Dutch and Portuguese. In 1623 an incident permanently convinced British to turn towards India. Twenty one men were killed by Dutch in Amboyna out of which ten were the servants of British East India Company, the incident in known as Amboyna Massacre[1].

The first British ship landed in India in 1608 at Calicut. This was the time period of the fourth Mughal Emperor Jahangir. He did not allow British to trade in India. However British did not lose hope and continued to convince Mughals for the permission. Finally in 1612 a limited permission was granted to British by Khurram (Shah Jahan) the governor of Gujarat. As a result British erected their first factory in Surat. James I dispatched Sir Thomas Roe to the royal court of Jahangir in 1614.

The main reason of coming of British to India was trade of spices, cotton, jute, rice etc. Secondly they also wanted markets for selling their products. The things which were easily available in India had a high demand in Europe. The traders of Europe always wanted to trade with India and they had come to India by land. However the route from land took years to reach to India from Europe. It took more than two years for Marco Polo to come to India. The major breakthrough in the travel to India was in 1496 when Vasco de Gama of Portugal crossed the much feared Cape of Storms in the South of Africa (later the same place was named as Cape of Good Hope).

Portuguese opened the sea route to India. They were first people who started to trade with India from Europe. The next European people to follow them were Dutch. England was the third European country to trade with India. Portuguese and Dutch restricted themselves to small areas with in India. On the other hand British tried their luck all over India and it paid off. Within 150 years of their stay in India British were in such a strong position that they started to challenge the local rulers and even the Mughal Emperors.

They challenged and defeated Siraj-ud-Daula the nawab of Bengal in 1757 in the famous battle of Plassey.

---

[1] In 1623 the Dutch governor, Herman Van, stationed there was suspicious about the presence and activities of British. He believed that British are conspiring with Japanese to kill him. As preemptive measure he ordered the killing of 10 British 10 Japanese and one Portuguese man. See, D. K. Bassett (1960). The "Amboyna Massacre" of 1623. Journal of Southeast Asian History, 1, pp 1-19. http://doi:10.1017/S0217781100000107.

Emperors.

They challenged and defeated Siraj-ud-Daula the nawab of Bengal in 1757 in the famous battle of Plassey.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Different attempts by Indians to prevent British from taking control over India:

Since British arrive in India they were trying to take control over India one way or another. In the early days of their stay they were taking control over the economic activity of India. Then after spending some decades they felt more comfortable and strong enough to challenge the authority of Indians.

British challenged the authority of Aurangzeb on the issue of tax exemption. However he was a powerful Mughal Emperor that is why he was able to crush British easily in 1691.

Then British tried to take control of Bengal. In 1757 they challenged Nawab of Bengal Siraj-ud-Dauala. The dispute was over the fortification of one factory of British. Although the Nawab was able to defeat British in early battles but he was finally defeated in the famous battle of Plassey. His minister Mir Jaffer betrayed him in the battle and made the British victory possible.

In 1764 the Nawab of Bengal Mir Qasim, Nawab of Oudh Shuja-ud-Daula and Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II fought with British at the battle of Buxar. British defeated the alliance of these three rulers and took control of more lands in sub-continent.

Then Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan were challenged by British in their territory, Mysore. Hyder was able to defeat British and signed a treaty in which British agreed not to disturb him again. His son Tipu was again challenged by British however he was not able to overpower British despite early victories.

British also took over Sindh in 1843. The conquest of Sindh was a result of frustration of British defeat in Afghanistan. They had been trying to capture Afghanistan and successive British failures diverted their attention towards Sindh.

In Punjab Ranjeet Singh also did not accept the supremacy of British. British tried to take control over Punjab but Ranjeet defended it well It was after his death, that British annexed Punjab in 1849.

The last attempt by Indians to prevent British from taking control over India was the War independence 1857. This was the biggest struggle against British in India. It was supported by many Indians from different parts.

In short all the efforts by Indians to resist against British control failed. The main reason behind these failures was that Indians were not united at any time and had their own personal interest.

MUHGALS

i. Babur	1526-1530	
ii. Humayun	1530-1540	and
iii. Akbar	1555-56 1556-1605	
iv. Jahangir	1605-1627	
v. Shah Jahan	1628-1658	
vi. Aurangzeb	1658-1707	

Mughal dynasty in India started from Babur in 1526, when he defeated the last ruler of Lodi dynasty Ibrahim Lodhi in the first battle of Panipat. Although Mughal dynasty officially lasted till 1858, the first six rulers were worth discussing. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Mughal dynasty lost its grip over India.

DECLINE OF MUGHALS

The dynasty, which was started by Babur in 1526 in India, was one of the greatest dynasties in the history of the world. We do not find many kings or emperors who can match the glory and might of Mughal Emperors.

Aurangzeb was the sixth and the last strong ruler of Mughal dynasty who controlled his territories with authority. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Mughal Empire started to decline and never recovered. Finally in 1858 the Mughal rule was officially ended by British. There are several factors, which resulted in the decline of the Mughal dynasty, which are as under:

i. Wars of Aurangzeb:

Aurangzeb was a very ambitious ruler. He wanted to capture whole of India especially southern states. These south Indian states were very strong and had defended themselves against Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. On the other hand he was trying to control Afghanistan and Persia. Other than wars of annexations he was also faced by many rebellions. He invested almost all of the treasures of Mughal dynasty into his wars. At the end of his reign Mughal treasury was exhausted and the successors of Aurangzeb did not have sufficient money to control the vast Empire of India.

ii. Incapable successors of Aurangzeb:

Aurangzeb did not train his sons as his father had trained him and his brothers. His sons were weak and were unable to stamp their authority over all the lands, which were ruled by Aurangzeb. Governors of different provinces started to declare themselves, independent of Mughal rule. Rebellions started immediately after the death of Aurangzeb and these weak successors were unable to crush them.

iii. Rise of Marathas:

Marathas were Hindus of South India. Marathas started to hate Aurangzeb due to his anti-Hindu policies. Shivajee was one of the noble amongst them and he united them on the basis of nationalism. He said to get rid of Aurangzeb the Marathas need to raise arms against him. They although started their struggle in the reign of Aurangzeb but he was successful in crushing them. Shivajee was very powerful and a good general. He fought many battles with Aurangzeb however he was finally killed by the Mughal armies and Aurangzeb was able to control the Maratha rebellion. After the death of Aurangzeb Marathas rose again this time there was no one on the Mughal throne to stop them. They grew stronger and finally took Delhi from Mughal.

vi. Rise of British in Sub-continent:

British East India Company was established in 1600. It was given a charter to trade in East of Africa by Queen Elizabeth. British took a long time to establish themselves in India. British were more advanced than Indians in every field. They had experience of external diplomacy due to their interaction with other nations of Europe. British after spending a century in India realized that they can control the politics of India for their own favor. Since the start of the 18th century British had started to interfere in the local politics of India. By mid-18th century British got control of Bengal. Then they expanded their circle of influence. British finally took the power from the hands of Mughals officially in 1858.

War of Independence:

Different aspects to be covered in this topic;

1. Why this war was started? (causes)
2. Why did Indians lose this war? (causes of failure)
3. In what aspects this war was a failure? (comments)
4. What did Indians gain from this war? (comments)

Till 1858 a Company based in England controlled India. This company had started to influence the politics of India, since the start of 18th century. They molded every aspect of the lives of Indian people for their own benefits. East India Company made huge profits from India without giving any thing back to its people.

1. Causes:

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

i. Economic Causes:

British started to take administrative control over India since the battle of Plassey in 1757. The main objectives of this take over was extracting maximum profits out of India. India provided multiple exploitation opportunities to British.

i) It provided raw material for the newly started Industrial Revolution in England[2].

ii) Mass production means need for larger market, India provided single largest market in the world.

iii) For extraction of raw material British pressurized the local rulers for tax exemptions and later completely waived the taxes for their trade.

iv) They also made tax exemption for selling their products in the local markets.

As a result the local rulers and merchants started to suffer. When mass produced products were pumped into Indian markets the prices decreased and the local manual production failed to cope up with the change. Contrary to the British local merchants were paying all the taxes in their own land according to the various laws prevailing in different kingdoms with India. This disparity lead to the frustration in the hearts and minds of locals.

---

[2] Industrial Revolution started in England in 1750 when first steam powered machine 'Spinning Jenny' was invented for textile industry. Mechanization meant mass production and more raw material for production needs.

ii. Political Causes:

For the first century of their stay in India British did not indulge themselves into local politics. Then from the start of 18th century we see British influence over local politics. The first major ruler to lose his land was Siraj-ud-Daula 1757. Then Nawab of Oudh also lost his hegemony over his land 1764. British accelerated the capture of power and land of India from the start of 19th century.

During 1782 till 1799 British fought in Mysore. The Nawab of Mysore Tipu Sultan put up a great effort to resist British with the help of French however despite his several victories over British he was finally defeated by them. Mir Sadiq was the traitor who betrayed his benefactor and conspired against his countrymen.

The conquest of Sindh took place in 1843. On September 11, 1803 British attacked Delhi, which was under Marratha rule and three days later they took the charge of it. British conquest of the capital of northern India was a significant one. After it they were able to dominate all India psychologically and stamped their authority. Later in Punjab British tried to expand, however their aims were checked by Maharaja Ranjeet Singh until his death in 1839. They took capital of Punjab, Lahore in 1849.

The famous Doctrine of Lapse in 1852 of Dalhousie also deprived many rulers from their lands. According to this doctrine the British would confiscate any land of such rulers, who did not have a direct male heir, after his death. Through the implementation of this doctrine British were able to take control many territories which resulted into further hatred in the hearts of locals for them. Most of them were unable to fight British alone however when the war started they came out in the support for the anti-British forces and tried to take revenge.

iii. Social causes:

India was home to very staunch and conservative people. British in early days of their occupation did not interfere in the social traditions and customs of Indian people. From the beginning of 19th century British started to introduce many new reforms, which were seen as attack by the local people on their culture. They opened schools where English was made compulsory. English replaced Persian in 1835 as official language. Lord McCauley introduced his famous education policy of 1835, which particularly attacked local teachings and culture. He even made an insulting statement about the local literature," a single shelf of a European Library is better than all the books ever written in

Sub-continent."

iv. ***Religious causes:***

India had always been a very conservative society. The two major communities Muslims and Hindus both had always been very orthodox towards their religious believes. Earlier the British East India Company decided upon the policy of no interference in the religious matter of the locals. They were aware of the fact that by indulging in religion or propagating Christianity they would rattle the locals. However with time policies changed.

i) Afghan Invasion by East India Company was an event that created a rift between the Hindu soldiers working under the company. Bengal and Bombay regiments were ordered to March into Afghanistan in 1839. Several Hindu soldiers refused to go beyond river Indus on behalf of their religious believe. According to Hindu traditions if a Hindu crosses river Indus and goes west he will lose their religion. This was a major concern for British and Hindus at the time.

ii) Missionary activities were started by the order the British crown in the first quarter of 19th century. It created a feeling of insecurities in the hearts and minds of both Muslims and Hindus.

iii) British introduced a cartridge for a new riffle in India. The cartridge was made of paper and was coated with animal fat to protect it from moisture. These cartridges were to be opened by mouth before use. The cartridges were being made locally in India by various venders. The manufacturers used cow and pig fat on them. It was later reported by the Indian *Sepoyees* that we would not use these cartridges because of caw and pig fat. In the beginning British called an inquiry into the matter and ordered vendors not use the fat of said animals. Later in May 1857 the matters got worst when a British officer strictly ordered Indian *Sepoyees* to use the cartridges when they were in doubt about the use of cow and pig fat on them.

iv) Ban on *Suttee*[3] was imposed by British in 1829. At the time this ban was considered as unnecessary indulgence by British in the affairs and religious matters of locals.

---

[3] *Suttee* was a religious ceremony of Hindus in which if the husband dies the widows used to be burned along with the dead body of the deceased husband. Although this practice was not very wide spread amongst all Hindus however at the time of British ban considerable section of Hindu community was distressed by the action.

2. Reasons for the failure of Indians in the War:

This was not the first time that Indians took up arms against East India Company. Siraj-ud-Daula, Shuja-ud-Daula, Haider Ali, Tipu Sultan and Ranjeet Singh also took up arms against East India Company but in 1857 this effort was collective rather than individual. India was one of the largest countries at that time which had one of the largest populations in the world. Then how such a great number of people were defeated by handful British officers? There are some reasons behind this defeat, which are as under:

i. No central leadership:

The war of independence was started by some soldiers who refused to use the disputed cartridge. Although these *sepoyees* got support from other Indians as well but there was a major weakness in the organization of the rebel army. There was no leader who could command the volunteer army and fight the war with proper strategy. The *sepoyees* got the official support of Bahadur Shah Zafar, but he was a very old man at that time and was physically unable to take active part in the war. On the other hand British had a proper high command and proper structured army. Due to this lack of central leadership the rebel army was unable to achieve its objective.

ii. Lack of weapons:

The war is fought with weapons. The British had their factories which were supplying weapons continuously. On the other hand the local people were fighting with the weapons which they got from British. The other weapons which were locally made, (swords, lances, bow and arrow) were useless against the advanced weapons of British like guns and cannons.

iii. Lack of support from all over India:

This war is remembered as the war of Independence of India but in reality it was not supported by all the Indians. Main fighting tribes like Punjabis and Ghurkhas were supporting British. The three presidencies Calcutta, Madras and Bombay remained loyal to the British. The war effort was concentrated only in the central India. The people of other parts of India did not support the war.

iv. Lack of unity and coordination:

The people who were fighting against British were not united among themselves as well. They were fighting for their own goals rather than the national goal. That is why they did not have coordination with each other. Different rulers were fighting in different areas for example, Nana Sahib at Kanpur, Begum Hazrat Mahal at Oudh, Moulvi Liaquat Ali at Allahabad and most famous Rani Laxmi Bai at Jhansi. If all these people would have been fighting like a single machine and with coordination the results of the war would have been different.

Comments:

3 This war was a failure because it was unable to achieve the goals for which it was fought. The objectives of the war were;

i. To send British back to England
ii. To unite Indians against British
iii. To reinstall Mughal rule in India.

4 The people who fought this war were unable to achieve any of these goals through the war. Although the war was unable to achieve the goals for which it was fought but it achieved some in direct goals which were not considered as success at that time. This indirect success proved very helpful for Indians to gain Independence 90 years later.

i. The people of India were able to abolish the tyrannical rule of British East India Company and to replace it with comparatively better rule of British Crown. The company was only working to gain profit for its people. They totally ignored the rights of the Indian people. They were the main cause of the armed struggle against

British in India.

ii. The people of India convinced the British Government that they need recognition and now their voice cannot be pressed. That is why the Government of England took control of India directly into their hands and introduced acts which gave Indians a chance to participate in the Government.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Phases of Indo-Pak history from 1857 till 1947:

The history of India after the War of Independence till Independence of Sub-Continent could be divided into four phases, which are as under:

First Phase 1858 till 1905 (Hindus + British vs. Muslims)

This period is marked by good relations between Hindus and British. Muslims were being ignored by both of them and persecuted.

Second Phase 1905 till 1913 (British + Muslims vs. Hindus)

During this period British made some administrative and legislative changes which favored Muslims. Hindus during this period were very active against both British and Muslims.

Third Phase 1913 till 1928 (Muslims + Hindus vs. British)

Since the change of objectives by Muslim League the Congress found some common grounds with them. This period is marked by Hindu Muslim Unity shown in Lucknow Pact, Khilafat movement etc.

Fourth Phase 1928 till 1947 (British vs. Muslim vs. Hindus)

Since the Nehru Report the unity between Hindu and Muslims ended. Since then both parties worked for their own rights without the help of each other.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

First Phase 1858 till 1905

(Hindus + British Vs Muslims)

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Introduction:

The Great War had started in May 1857 and it ended in August 1858. The two simultaneous and most significant aftermaths of the war were the dissolution of British East India Company and the takeover of all Indian affairs by the British government under royal authority of her highness Queen Victoria. On 1st November 1858 the queen declared the takeover officially. For the first time during the British interaction with Indians were given the status of British subject unlike the rule under the company. This might not be a status any one would like to associate themselves with however it was a lesser evil. The queen announced constitutional reforms in the new official colony. Act of India 1858 was the result that intention.

Act of India 1858:

1. "India was to be governed directly by and in the name of the Crown, actin through a Secretary of State."[4]

"There shall be paid to each member of the ' Council the yearly salary of one thousand two hundred pounds out of the revenues, of India."[5]

"If a majority of the Council record as aforesaid their opinions against any act proposed to be done the Secretary of State shall, if he do not defer to the opinions of the majority, record his reasons for acting in opposition thereto."[6]

---

[4] 95

[5] Indian Constitutional Documents 12

[6] Ibid 15

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: (1817-1898)

Introduction:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is one of those personalities who shape the future of nations. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was born on 17th October 1817 and he died on 27th March 1898. He belonged to an educated family and his father had served in the Mughal court. After completing education he looked for his future in judiciary during the rule of East India Company.

He was a realistic person and a man of reason. He saved the life of an English collector Shakespeare and his family from an angry mob. He was the first person who took a middle path and tried to solve the problems Muslims were facing at the time especially after the war. At the time of the war he was 40 years old and he dedicated rest of his life towards the restoration of the status of Muslim society in sub-continent.

Contributions and services of Sir Syed:

After the war Sir planned to raise the status of Muslim society by education and bringing them close to British. To accomplish this task he wrote books on various topics and opened schools and other institutions.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Literary works.

i. Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind; (*The causes of Indian Revolt). 1858 (Political effort):*

It was originally written in Urdu and later it was translated into English by Sir Auckland Colvin and G.F.I. Graham in 1873 and published same year[7].

In this pamphlet he blamed the war on British. He said that it is due to the tyrannical rule of British East India Company that Indians started to hate them and finally this hatred led to the war. He pointed out that British did not include Indians in the government. He argued that British should include Indians in the government. This will help British to understand and solve the problems faced by Indians. This particular piece to writing had a great impact on politics of India, British for the first time included Indians in the government after the Indian Councils act 1861. These Indian members were chosen by the Viceroy this means they were not elected or they had the approval of Indian people.

---

[7] G.F.I. Graham, *The Life and Word of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan*, (London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1885), 32

ii. Loyal Mohammedans of India. 1858 (Political effort):

In this book Sir Syed mentioned all those Muslims who served under the British. The main purpose of this book was to tell British that Muslims are not their enemies and they have served them with loyalty.

iii. Tabyin-ul-Kalam (Explanation of Bible) (Social effort):

In this book Sir Syed explained Bible to bring out its relation with Quran and Islam. It was a very important book to cultivate friendly relations between Muslims and British.

iv. Tahzeeb-ul-Akhlaq. (Magazine) (Social efort)

It was a magazine started by Sir Syed to bring Muslims closer to their culture and moral values. It worked as a social reformer.

v. Ahleam-e-Taam-e-Ahle-e-Kitab (Social efort) (Table manners of the people of book)

Both Muslims and Christians are the people of book. Muslims follow Quran and Christians follow Bible. In this writing Sir Syed tried to bring out the similarities between Muslims and Christian.

vi. Khutabt-e-Ahmadiah (A book on the life of Holy Prophet Mohammad P.B.U.H) In this book Sir Syed discussed different events and summons of Holy Prophet.

vii. Tafseer-ul-Quran. (Commentary of Holy Quran) It was a detailed commentary on Holy Quran.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Educational institutes:

i. Laid the foundations of a school at Moradabad in 1859.

ii. Established a school in Ghazipur in 1864.

iii. Established a scientific society at Ghazipur in 1863. The main function of this society was to translate books written in European languages into local languages so the people of India could understand them.

iv. In 1869 he went to England to admit his son Mohammad in Cambridge University. There he observed the education system and particularly universities. He observed that Universities like Oxford and Cambridge are working for more than three centuries due to which the society of England was modern and advanced.

After coming back from England he started to work towards establishing a university in India. In 1875 he was able to establish a school at Aligarh, which was upgraded to MAO College in 1877. This same college was finally made a university in 1920 as Aligarh Muslim University.

v. He also established Mohammedans Educational conference in 1886 to promote education amongst Muslims of Sub-continent.

Aligarh Movement:

It was not a separate movement launched by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. All of his educational efforts which had their base in Aligarh came to be known as Aligarh Movement which included the Tehzeb-ul- Akhlaq, MAO. College etc.

Political efforts:

Sir Syed tried to transform Muslim society of sub-continent to be a modern society. For this purpose he made many different efforts. Along with his social, educational and religious efforts his political mentoring of Muslims is very important.

i. Different books:

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

ii.Two nation theory:

Sir Syed was the first person who distinguished the two major communities of sub-continent on the political and religious basis. He had a very fine observation on the political events of his times. In 1867 Hindi Urdu controversy occurred. The course of this event got Sir Syed's attention and he started to think about the two nation theory at that time.

British introduced Indian Councils Act 1892 in which they introduced for the first time in India the system of elections. It means that now the Indian people can chose their representatives on their own.

iii. Political Advice to Muslims:

When Indian National Congress was established in 1885 Sir Syed advised Muslims of sub-continent to stay away from the politics. The reason behind it was that he believed that Muslims are not properly aware of politics at that time and not properly educated to become got politicians.

On the other hand Hindus were in better position than Muslims. That is why he asked Muslims to work towards education and when they are prepared then enter into politics.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Akbar Allahabadi

"Hum raish dikhatay hain kay Islam ko dekho
Miss zulf dikhati hain kay iss Laam ko dekho"

"Iss ada say kaha miss nay come on
Teer ki si abb mujh main rawani si hai"

"hum aisi kul kitabain kabil e Zabti samajhtay hain
Jinhain parh kar kay larkay baap ko khapti samajhtay hain

Char din ki zindagi hai kouft say kia faida
Kar Clerky kha double roti khuishi say phul ja

Huay is qadr muhazib kabhi ghar ka munh na dekha
Kati umar hotlon main maray aspatal jakar

Sheikh ji kay donon betay ba hunar paida huay
Aik hain khufiya police main aik phansi pagaiy

Indian Councils Act 1861:

In 1861 British introduced first major reforms. These reforms were the result of continuous criticism from Indians on the administration and legislative structure of British in India. There was no representation of Indians in the legislative council of Viceroy and central administration. According to Indian critics the absence of Indians is a major cause of rejection of British and one of the major elements for the war of 1857. Leading from the front in criticism was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. He wrote *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind* (Causes of Indian Revolt, later translated in English) in 1858. Since this book came out, British started to discuss inclusion of Indians in governmental setup.

These reforms for the first time brought Indians into legislature. It said that Indians would be allowed to sit in the council of Viceroy on the basis of selection by British. Although this inclusion was not on democratic basis but it opened a window of opportunity for Indians to take part in law making. The function of Indian member was just to tell British about the feelings of Indians when asked. He did not have any power to make any change or to stop any law.

The first Indians to become members of Imperial Legislative Council were, Raja Sir Deo Narayan Singh of Benaras (Jan 1862-1866) Narendra Singh, Maharaja of Patiala (Jan 1862-1864) Dinkar Rao (Jan 1862-1864).

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Hindi-Urdu controversy 1867:

This event occurred when British decided to replace Urdu which is written in Persian script with Hindi written in Deo-Nagri script, in lower courts. Muslims all over India started to agitate against the step taken by the Government. On the other hand Hindus were celebrating on the replacement of the Language.

This event also sparked disturbance in many localities across India. Muslims were surprised by the reaction shown by the Hindus, because till then both Hindus and Muslims stood with each other against British. Hindus had started to lean towards British, while Muslims were facing hardships at the hands of British.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan took notice of the event and observed it. He then started to think about the two nation theory, that Muslims and Hindus are two different nations which have totally different history, culture, religion and language etc. Although they have lived together with each other for more than eight centuries but still they have not learnt to tolerate each other. After some interval of time in history both communities found themselves face to face against each other over some issue.

Formation of "All Indina Natioanl Congress" 1885:

It was formed by a retired British civil servant Allan Octavian Hume in 1885. The main purpose of this party was to provide Indians a platform to voice their grievances and demands to the British Government. It welcomed people of all castes and color. British wanted to avoid any other confrontation like the War of Independence 1857 in future. The first meeting of the Congress was held in Bombay when Lord Dufferin was viceroy. It was attended by 72 delegates. Womesh Chandra Banerjee was elected as the first president of Congress. By 1907 the Congress party got split into two sections first under Bal Gangadhar Tilak (the extremist) and the second under Gopal Krishna Ghokle (the moderates).

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan at this moment advised Muslims not to join Congress. He was not against politics but he believed that Muslims were not fully prepared to indulge themselves into politics. He believed that Muslims at that time had other important than politics challenges which need immediate attention. He said that Hindus are more advanced and educated than Muslims. They will easily overpower Muslims in politics. He also predicted that Congress will become a Hindu party neglecting Muslims.

To provide Muslims a platform to work on education and divert their attention from politics he established Mohammedan Education Conference in 1886. Time proved the fears and predictions of Sir Syed when Hindus objected on the partition of Bengal in 1905 which was in the favor of Muslims.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Indian Councils Act 1892:

Since its establishment Congress was asking for more representation in the legislature and on the basis of elections by Indians rather than selection by British. In 1892 British introduced new reforms in which for the first time they brought limited democratic representation system in India. This time the number of Indians in provincial council was increased and they were going to be nominated from Indian.

This was not a direct election amongst the people like in practice today across the world but these members would be nominated by different groups or bodies working in India for example, City Corporation, Municipal Corporation, district boards, associations of merchants or manufacturers and University senate (source given below). The power to make regulations regarding the nominations of Indians was given to provincial governors under the article 1(4) of the Indian Councils Act 1892.[8]

At the time there were four administrative units of British India, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and North Western Provinces and Oudh. The number of nominated members in these provinces was as follows;

	Province	**No.**
1	Madras	7
2	Bombay	8
3	Calcutta	7
4	N.W. Provinces and Oudh	6

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

He said that the European democratic system cannot work in India as it is working in England because there are many different communities living in India. This way only the community in majority would be able to make laws and they would suppress the communities in minorities. On the other hand in England all the people are English and they do not have communal differences amongst them. They vote on the basis of policies of political parties or politicians. In India all people would vote on the basis of religion or community.

JOIN ME FOR EASY ACCESS TO EBOOKS & NOTES
+92-310-545-450-3
Css Aspirants ebooks & Notes
https://m.facebook.com/groups/458184410965870
Css Aspirants Forum
http://t.me/CssAspirantsForum
Rules of the group.
*No irrelevant text/pic Islamic pic/videos
*No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked
*Personal text w/o Mutual consent Consider harassment.
Separate Group For Females with verfication
The CSS Group does not hold any rights on shared the Books & Notes
I,m not Responsible for Copyrights.
This book/notes downloaded from the internet.

---

[8] See, *The Indian Councils Act, and the Acts Amending it,* (Madras: The National Press, 1893), 1-2

Original Source [9]

Regulations under Section 1 (4) of the Indian Councils Act 1892 for Madras.

I- Of the persons, other than the Advocate-General of officer acting in the that capacity, to be nominated Additional Members of Council by the Governor of Madras for his assistance in making Laws and Regulations not more than nine shall be officials.

II- The nominations to seven seats shall be made by the Governor on the recommendation of the following bodies and associations respectively, namely:-

A- The Corporation of Madras.

B- Such Municipal Corporations or group or groups of Municipal Corporations other than the Corporation of Madras as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe by Notification in the Fort St, George Gazette.

C- Such District Boards, or group or groups of District Boards, as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe aforesaid;

D- Such Association or Associations of merchants, manufacturers as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe aforesaid;

E- The Senate of the University of Madras:

Provided that the bodies described above under A, B, C and E, shall each (except as hereinafter provided rule VII) have at least one person nominated upon its recommendation, and A, D and E, not more than one each.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[9] *The Indian Councils Act, and the Acts Amending it,* (Madras: The National Press, 1893), 58-59

Second Phase 1905 till 1911

(British + Muslims Vs Hindus)

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Partition of Bengal 1905: continued till 1911

Bengal at the start of the twentieth century had Bengal proper, Biharm Orrisa and Cholta Nagpur. It was the most populous Province in British India, having an area of 189,900 square miles, with a population of 78.5 million (7 carore 85 lacs)[10]. This was nt the first time that British had discussed or planned to bifurcate this particular area of India. The size of Bengal according to British was too much for a single governor to handle and administer. They divided Bengal into two provinces, East Bengal and West Bengal. Before the partition the most of the Muslims lived in the Eastern Bengal and Hindus dominated the Western Bengal. Partition took effect on 16th October, 1905. After the partition Muslims got almost full majority in the new province East Bengal.

This partition sparked a reaction from Hindus, who were not in the favor of sharing power with Muslims and agreeing to any favors for Muslims. Prior to the partition in all provinces Hindus had majority and Muslims were in minority, so when the Muslims got majority in one province it was not acceptable to Hindus.

On the other hand Muslims felt relieve. This was the first time during the British Raj[11] that Muslims as a community received some benefit out of the government. They welcome the decision. The main advantage to Muslims was that now they did not have to compete with the Hindus of Calcutta who were head and shoulder above the Muslim merchants economically and had a control over markets.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1 Why the partition was done?
2 Why Hindus did not like it? And, Why Muslims welcomed it?
3 How Hindus and Congress opposed it? or Why the partition was reversed?

1 Why the partition was done?

Bengal was the largest province of India which had the largest population and area. Due to its size and population it was becoming difficult to administer it. So administer it properly the Viceroy decided to divide into two smaller provinces under two Governors. The population was about 70 million.

Another political reason can be drawn out of the activities of Congress and behavior of British Government. Since the establishment of Congress in 1885 the demands of Indians were increasing day by day. Congress was dominated by Hindus and Muslims had a very small number in it. British wanted support for them amongst Indians and they thought that by giving political, administrative and economic favor to Muslims they might be able to receive support from Muslims, which might be helpful against Congress. This is exactly what happened after the partition. Muslims were in favor of it and Hindus rejected it completely.

---

[10] R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol.II,* (Calcutta: Firma K L M Pvt. Ltd, 1963), 3

[11] British Raj means the rule from 1858 till 1947. It does not include rule by East India Company.

2 Why Hindus did not like it? And, Why Muslims welcomed it?

Before the partition the Hindus were in majority. Hindus had more than half of the population in Bengal, most which was located in the Western part of the province. The Muslims had the second largest population and most of them were located in the Eastern part.

After the partition East part of Bengal became under the majority of the Muslims and the Western part was still dominated by the Hindus. Congress and Hindus were unable to tolerate Muslim majority in any of the provinces of India. Secondly Hindus were claiming that by drawing lines on the holy land of Hindus British have committed a sin and dividing any piece of land on India is like cutting holy deity[12] in two halves.

For Muslims, it was a sigh of relief. Finally the mission of Sir Syed was accomplished to some extent. He always wanted to bring Muslims and British closer for the benefit of Muslims. It was the first time after the War of Independence 1857 that Muslim community got any benefit out of the British Government. Muslims were enjoying majority in one newly created province in India.

3 How Hindus and Congress opposed it? Or Why the partition was reversed?

Congress and Hindus were against this decision since the beginning. They wanted to reverse it at any cost. The following events and action show how they were able to pressurize British to reverse the partition.

i Sawadeshi movement:

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[12] Hindus consider India a holy land and they compared partition of Bengal with slaughtering of Holy cow.

"Sawadeshi" is a Hindi word which literally means "of our own". In this movement Congress asked their fellow countrymen to boycott British goods and buy only Indians goods. They thought this way British would suffer financial losses and they would be forced to reverse the partition.

ii. Violence across country:

Initially British were able to sustain pressure of agitation and Sawadeshi Movement. But after some time Hindus got more frustrated and violent in their demand. Some extremist Hindus started to conduct attacks on government officials. They even attempted to assassinate the Viceroy of India Lord Minto twice, but he survived both times.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

iii. Delhi Durbar:

King George V became king of England on 6th May 1910 after the death of his father. He chose India for his coronation ceremony because it was the most prized possession of the British monarchy. When Indians came to know about this Idea of the king they threaten to kill the king if he tries to come to India. Before this could happen the British Government took firm action to avoid this situation by reversing the partition and shifting the capital from Calcutta to Delhi.

Sir John Jenkins a member of Viceroy's Council advised to reverse the partition of Bengal and to shift the capital of India to Delhi. Both of these suggestions were accepted by Viceroy and implemented. When King came to India the capital was Delhi and there he announced the reversal of the Partition of Bengal on 22nd June 1911.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Simla deputation, 1906

After the partition of Bengal the Muslims of Sub-continent felt alone. The reaction of Hindus against the partition was very strong and anti-Muslim. At that time some prominent members of Muslim community thought that the time has arrived for Muslims to take some action towards safeguarding their rights. Therefore Sir Agha

Khan III led a delegation of some prominent members of Muslim society of India to meet Viceroy Lord Minto in Simla in October 1906.

There they demanded separate electorates for Muslims and weightage for Muslims in different councils. The meeting was a success and brought future hopes for Muslim politics in India. The Viceroy assured that he would convey the demands to House of Commons. Separate electorates were finally granted to Muslims in Minto

The Formation of Muslim League 1906:

The political system and culture was introduced in India by British in the last quarter of nineteenth century. In 1885 the formation of Congress started the process of politics in India. At that time Sir Syed Ahmad Khan advised Muslims not to take part in Congress. The reason was that Muslims were not aware of politics at that time.

Muslims were ignored time and again by the British and Hindus in the India. The Indian Councils Act of India 1891 also proved that Hindus would dominate the politics and will leave Muslims behind. Since the start of 20th century Muslims had started to feel the need of a separate political party or a group. In 1901, in a meeting at Lucknow, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk stressed on the formation of a political party for Muslims of India.

The Hindu attitude towards Muslims after the Partition of Bengal proved that Hindus cannot work for the rights of Muslims and Muslims need to make a political party of their own. The annual session of the, "Mohammedan Educational Conference", was held at Dhaka in 1906. Many prominent members of Muslim society of India were present there. After the meeting the Nawab of Dhaka, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk arranged another meeting to discuss the prospects of a political party of Muslims. He chaired the meeting and in this meeting the every agreed on the need to form a separate political party. The early objectives of the League were,

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

i. To protect the rights of Muslims
ii. To cultivate friendly relations with British.
iii. To prevent the rise a hostile feelings in the hearts of Muslims for other communities and in the hearts of other communities for Muslims.

The formation of Muslim League was inevitable due to the behavior of Hindus and Congress. After its formation Congress blamed the League as the representative of British and said that British have made Muslim League to divide Indians and to counter Congress.

Morley Minto Reforms 1909:

British introduced legislative reforms after 1892 in 1909. These reforms are known as Indian Councils act 1909 or Morley Minto reforms. Lord Minto was Viceroy and Lord Morley was the Secretary of State for India. Salient features of these reforms are as under;

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

i. The separate electorates were given to Muslims in the provinces where they were in minority.

ii. The number of seats in the provincial councils was increased as 30 in small provinces and 50 in large province.

iii. The number of central council was increased to be 60 members.

These reforms were very important for Muslims in two aspects. i. Firstly in it the Separate Electorates were officially granted to Muslims which meant a great Victory for early Muslim politics. ii. Secondly the partition of Bengal was not reversed in these reforms which meant that British kept their promise. These reforms were not meant to give Indians a chance to rule themselves but on the contrary to give them the opportunity to convey their issues or problems to British. The Indian members of the councils were not there to make any significant changes in the laws or frame them. They were there to advice British and it depended on them to accommodate those advices or to reject them. British could easily ignore their advice.

On the other hand Congress was very unhappy with these reforms. They also refused to accept these reforms for the following three reasons:

i. It did not grant self- rule to Indians which was the demand of Congress before these reforms.

ii. Secondly separate electorates were given to Muslims in minority provinces and Congress was against this demand of Muslims.

iii. Thirdly the partition of Bengal was not reversed in these reforms. Congress was agitating against the partition of Bengal since it was done in 1905 and they were

Indians are not capable of "Responsible Government" expecting that British government would officially reverse this partition in these reforms.

Third Phase 1911 till 1928

(Hindus+Muslims Vs British)

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Change of Objectives by Muslim League:

After the reversal of partition of Bengal in 1911 during Delhi Darbar, the leadership of Muslim League was shocked and felt betrayed by British. During the movement against the partition Muslims were curious about the future of East Bengal (a Muslim majority area) and they were satisfied by British that it will remain separated no matter how many tactics would be utilized against it. On this assurance Muslim League during its earlier years into politics decided to side with British if they continue to favor the community across India.

The decision to re-unite East and West Bengal was an eye opener for Muslims. They realized that British are not there to provide relieve to anyone their only motif is trade, profits earned from it and the revenues from India. During 1911 and 1912 the leaders of Muslim League wanted to deviate from earlier objective of the League which said to cultivate friendly relations with British.

Finally in the annual session of 1912-13 Muslim League announced the change in its objectives. The friendly relations with British were replaced with the demand for self-rule from British. This was a significant demand because it brought Muslim League and Congress closer and it also compelled Muhammad Ali Jinnah to join Muslim League in 1913.

"At a meeting of the Council of the League in 1913 the adoption of the Congress formula of colonial self-government as the constitutional objective was moved but found no seconder, and the Council adopted in its place the formula, ' the attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India ' a decision which the League confirmed. The President of the Council, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Muhammad Shafi, denounced the Congress formula as inadmissible and unsound."[13]

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Lucknow Pact 1916:

In 1913 Jinnah joined Muslim League. He was already a member of Congress since he came back to India. After joining Muslim League he believed that these two political parties could come closer and work together. He believed that they both are Indians and they should not become each-others weakness. The change of objectives by Muslim League in 1913 brought these two political parties closer due to the common demand of Self Rule.

---

[13] Coupland, The Indian Problem, Vol I, 46

Jinnah was successful to convince both parties to conduct their annual session at the same time in same city. Lucknow was chosen for this purpose. After conducting their own sessions both conducted a common session.

i. For the first time the Congress agreed to the right of separate electorates for Muslims. They also introduced the separate electorates in Punjab and Bengal where they did not exist.
ii. They agreed that no bill will be passed in any provincial assembly if ¾ of the community concerned with that law agrees to it.
iii. Muslims were given the 1/3 seats in the councils where their ratio was ¼.
iv. In another demand it was asked that any act or law passed by a large majority in any provincial council should become a binding on the government.
v. Provincial autonomy was asked in all provinces.
vi. Both parties agreed that they will protect the rights of minorities living in their areas.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Lucknow Pact

Scheme of Reforms passed at the 31st session of the **Indian National Congress** held at **Lucknow on 29 December**, 1916, and adopted by the All-India **Moslem League** at its Meeting on **31 December,** 1916

I Provincial Legislative Councils:

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than one hundred and twenty-five members in the Major Provinces, and from fifty to seventy-five in the Minor Provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and that the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Council.
Punjab—One half of the elected Indian members.
United Provinces—30 per cent.
Bengal—40 per cent.
Behar—25 per cent.
Central Provinces—15 per cent.
Madras—15 per cent.
Bombay—One-third
Provided that Mahomedans shall not participate in any of the other elections to the Legislative Councils. Provided further that no Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council, but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.
(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.
(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.
(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.
(e) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.
(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The terms of office of the members shall be five years.

II Provincial Governments

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III. Imperial Legislative Council

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be one hundred and fifty.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the Mahomedan electorates, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

5. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but" should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

6. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one eighth of the members.

7. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

8. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

9. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

10. The term of office of members shall be five years.

11. The matters mentioned here in below shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

12. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor- General in Council : provided, however, that, if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

13. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

14. The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

15. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. The Government of India

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of

the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, and subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters, the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V The Secretary of State in Council

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Governments of the self-governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent under-secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI. Military and Other Matters of Policy

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

4. The Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that province.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

“This agreement between the two major political organisations may be regarded as the most striking expression of Indian nationalism so far achieved within the bounds of British India. And it was only achieved by major concessions on both sides. The Congress at last conceded separate Moslem electorates. It even acquiesced in their introduction in the Punjab and the Central Provinces, where they had not hitherto existed. Seats, moreover, on the Councils were allotted to those electorates on a generous scale. In Bengal the Moslems were to obtain only three-quarters of the seats to which they would have been entitled on a purely numerical basis, and in the Punjab only nine-tenths ; but in both these Provinces this was a great increase on the extent of Moslem representation under the Morley-Minto Reforms : in Bengal it was raised from 10-4 to 40 per cent, in the Punjab from 25 to 50 per cent.2 And in the other Provinces the Moslems were to obtain many more seats than they had at present or would have on a population basis : in the United Provinces and Madras, for example, a 14 and 6-15 per cent Moslem population would have a 30 and 15 per cent representation. Moslem strength at the Centre was similarly increased by the allotment of one-third of the elections to the Council to separate Moslem constituencies. The Moslems, it is true, were to surrender the additional advantage they had obtained in 1909 of also voting in general electorates; but by the more conservative or communal-minded among them this may well have been regarded as no loss, since it emphasised and secured the distinction between the two communities. A final safeguard and, however it might work in practice, a notable departure from the pure doctrine of ‘majority rule ' was provided by the application of the device adopted in the Congress constitution. No bill or resolution affecting a community should be proceeded with if three-fourths of the representatives of that community were opposed to it.”[14]

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[14] Coupland Vol I, 47-48

Khilafat movement (1919-1924)

Different aspects to be covered in this topic;

1. Why did the Khilafat movement start?
2. The movement was week from the start
3. Events of Khilafat Movement.
4. The reasons for its failure.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

1 Why did the Khilafat movement start?

It was a political movement launched by the Muslims of sub-continent. There were two main reasons behind Khilafat Movement i. Protection of Ottoman Empire and Caliph and ii. To join all the Muslims of the world under single caliph like the early days of Islam by re-establishing the system of Caliphate.

The First World War started in 1914. Indian Sub-continent was under the rule of British. The Great War was amongst two groups of countries. First group was led by England and the second group was led by Germany. In the German group a very important ally was Turkey. Turkey was the seat of Caliphate of Muslims. "Caliph" means "successor" or "representative". British asked Indians to fight along with them in the war against Germany. The Muslims of India refused to fight against Turkey which was supporting Germany. After the reversal of Partition of Bengal in 1911 Muslim League lost confidence in British and started to build friendly relations with Congress. On behalf of this friendship Hindus also refused to fight for British. To further convince Indians British said that their main enemy is not Turkey. They further assured that after the war Turkey would not be treated harshly. On behalf of this assurance Indians decided to support British.

The First World War ended in 1918. After the war the victorious countries started to treat all of the loosing countries harshly through different treaties. The first treaty which affected Turkey was the "Armistice of Mudros" signed on 30th October 1918. According to this treaty Turkey accepted defeat in the war and surrendered Hejaz, Yemen, Syria, Mesopotamia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica. The allies also got control over

Dardanelles and the Bosporus the two traits of Black sea, which lie with in the boundaries of Turkey. Then Treaty of Sevres in 1920 August 10th further humiliated Turkey. It broke the Ottoman Empire and reduced the control Turkey to the city of Istanbul and surrounding territory and to part of Asia Minor.

The Muslims of India felt that they have been cheated by British. In 1919 they started to raise their voice against this harsh treatment of Turkey. They also reminded British about their promise in which they said that Turkey would be left alone after the war. When these early attempts did not work then people like Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Maulana Shaukat Ali Jauhar, Abul Kalam Azad etc. started a full fledge movement to pressurize British.

Another long term or wider goal of the movement was to unite all Muslims of the world against anti-Muslim forces such as west.

2 The movement was weak from the start

The movement was weak from the start. The basic reason behind the movement was the restoration of Caliphate in Turkey, but on the contrary the people of Turkey wanted to get rid of Caliphate and make Turkey a republic under the leadership of Kamal Ataturk. So the claim of restoration from outside by design became week.

Secondly the aim to unite all Muslims of the world under the leadership of one Caliph was also an idealistic one. The institution of Caliphate was able to run properly only under the four pious Caliphs. After the takeover of Umayyad's the institution was lost and it became kingship where the successors were nominated and families ruled. The Muslim world had many diverse cultures and people during the days of Khilafat Movement.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

3 Events of Khilafat Movement

The movement started with few people but shortly it gained momentum and mass in India. The first session of Khilafat conference was held 1919 December. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Hakim Ajmal Khan along with Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali Jauhar established Khilafat Committee.

30 March Gandhi had given a call of general strike all across Indian, which was later delay to April 6. However in Delhi strike was conducted on 30 March and violence erupted. As a result some Hindus and Muslims died. The next day in Namaz e Janaza of Muslims in Jama

Musjid Delhi Hindus emerged to show solidarity with Muslims against British. There Sawami Shardhanand an Arya Samajh leader arrived and he was asked to take the pulpit to address the crowd[15]. It was an unprecedented event when a non-Muslim was given space on pulpit in such an important mosque.

First Khilafat conference 23 and 24 Nov. 1919 in Delhi
19 Jan. 1920 Khilafat deputation of 35 went to meet viceroy led by Ansari
Khilafat delegation led by Muhammad Ali went to England and met Lloyd George PM England on 17 March 1920.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Source: Young India (20 October 1921); writer Gandhi;

"I claim that with us both the Khilafat is the central fact, with Maulana Muhammad Ali because it is his religion, with me because in laying down my life fir the Khilafat I ensure the safety of the cow, that is my religion, from the Mussalman knife. Both hold swaraj equally dear because only swaraj is the safety of our respective faith possible.'

4 The reasons for its failure:

The movement was fragile from the beginning. It did not last long and started to erode with time. Some main reasons behind the failure of the Khilafat movement are discussed as under:

a) *Hijrat Movement 1920*

In 1920 some religious leaders and the leaders of Khilafat movement declared Indian Sub-continent a "Dar-ul-Harb". It means a place where Muslims cannot live their lives according to the teachings and practices of Islam. Around 20000 Muslims from Sind, Punjab and N.W.F.P migrated to Afghanistan, the nearest "Dar-ul-Islam". They sold all of their belongings and other house hold to go to Afghanistan. When they reached there the government of Afghanistan refused to take them in. They were turned back forcibly.

---

[15] Gail 70.

Most of them died on the way. The ones who were able to reach back found it very difficult to start a new life. In other words it was a complete failure and brought humiliation for the leaders of Khilafat movement. People lost their confidence in the leadership.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

b) Chaura Chauri incident 1922

In 1920, the leaders of Khilafat Movement decided to start Non-Cooperation movement under the guidance of Gandhi. British arrested these leaders on behalf of this movement. Through time, the movement grew more violent due to the frustration they were facing. In 1922, an angry mob torched a police station. 22 police officers also were killed in this incident.

When Gandhi got this news in the jail, he decided to withdraw his support from the movement. He said that now the movement has become very violent and he cannot be a part to any violent movement. He was a strong follower of the theory of "Ahinsa", meaning non-violence. With the departure of Gandhi all the Hindus supporting the movement also left and the movement became weak because now only Muslims were supporting the cause.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

c) Proclamation of Republic in Turkey 1924

Since the end of World War I a movement for democracy in Turkey started. It aimed the monarchy or Caliphate in Turkey. The last Caliph signed a very humiliating treaty with the victorious powers and it caused unpopularity for the Caliph. Finally, in 1924 the movement got successful under the leadership of Kamal Ataturk. The people of Turkey abolished Caliphate and declared Turkey a Republic.

When the people of Turkey themselves abolished Caliphate then the demand to restore Caliphate from other countries made no sense.

JOIN ME FOR EASY ACCESS TO EBOOKS & NOTES
+92-310-545-450-3
Css Aspirants ebooks & Notes
https://www.facebook.com/groups/1501645083670
Css Aspirants Forum
http://t.me/CssAspirantsForum
Rules of the group.
*No irrelevant text/pic Islamic pic/videos
*No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked
*Personal text w/o Mutual consent Consider harassment.
Separate Group For Females with verfication
The CSS Group does not hold any rights on shared the Books & Notes
I,m not Responsible for Copyrights.
This book/notes downloaded from the internet.

Montague Chelmsford Reforms or Act of India 1919:

Immediately after the Second World War, British brought a new constitution in India. According to them it gave more opportunity and power to the local people. This can be said right in theory but in practice it was nothing like what they claimed it was. In reality all the powers were in the hands of British. Some salient features of these reforms are as under.

1. The Central Legislature was divided into two houses. Counsel of state and Legislative assembly.

   New composition of various legislative houses

House	Elected	Nominated	Term	Total
Council of State	33	27	5 years	60
Legislative Assembly	103	41	3 years	144
Provincial Assemblies	70%	30%		

   Table[16]

2. The voter qualification was relaxed due to which more Indians got the chance to vote.
3. The Viceroy of India (a British officer) was given Veto power to stop any law which he did not agree to.
4. The recommendations made in 1916 regarding passing of any law concerning a particular community was accepted. In it, it was recommended that any law which affects or concerns any particular community would not be passed if ¾ elected members of that community agree to it in that province.
5. A new system of diarchy[17] was introduced in the provincial governments. "di" means two and "archy" means rule it means dual rule. The administration of provinces was divided in between Chief Minter and Governor. The thing to understand here is that Chief Ministers were to be elected so they represented the people of that province. On the other hand the Governors were selected and appointed by the Viceroy which means they were not the representatives of the people.

---

[16] See, L.P. Sharma, *History of British India* and P. Spear

[17] It can be spelled as diarchy and dyarchy, both are correct.

Montague Chelmsford Reforms or Act of India 1919:

Immediately after the Second World War, British brought a new constitution in India. According to them it gave more opportunity and power to the local people. This can be said right in theory but in practice it was nothing like what they claimed it was. In reality all the powers were in the hands of British. Some salient features of these reforms are as under.

1. The Central Legislature was divided into two houses. Counsel of state and Legislative assembly.

   New composition of various legislative houses

House	Elected	Nominated	Term	Total
Council of State	33	27	5 years	60
Legislative Assembly	103	41	3 years	144
Provincial Assemblies	70%	30%		

   Table[16]

2. The voter qualification was relaxed due to which more Indians got the chance to vote.
3. The Viceroy of India (a British officer) was given Veto power to stop any law which he did not agree to.
4. The recommendations made in 1916 regarding passing of any law concerning a particular community was accepted. In it, it was recommended that any law which affects or concerns any particular community would not be passed if ¾ elected members of that community agree to it in that province.
5. A new system of diarchy[17] was introduced in the provincial governments. "di" means two and "archy" means rule it means dual rule. The administration of provinces was divided in between Chief Minter and Governor. The thing to understand here is that Chief Ministers were to be elected so they represented the people of that province. On the other hand the Governors were selected and appointed by the Viceroy which means they were not the representatives of the people.

---

[16] See, L.P. Sharma, *History of British India* and P. Spear

[17] It can be spelled as diarchy and dyarchy, both are correct.

The administration was divided into two section i. Reserved Subjects and ii. Transferred Subjects. First section was given to Governors and the second was given to Chief Ministers. In reserved subjects all important ministries related to the collection of taxes were retained by British. This way they had the upper hand and they did not lose any money.

Reserved Subjects (Governor)		**Transferred Subjects (C.M)**	
1.	Finance.	1.	Health.
2.	Police.	2.	Sanitation.
3.	Maintenance of peace and order.	3.	Local government.
4,	Revenue.	4.	Public works.
5.	Publication of books and newspaper.	5.	Agriculture.
6.	Famine.	6.	Cooperative societies.

On paper British transferred some subjects to Indian but in reality real powers were still in the hands of British because whenever any Indian minister wanted to construct a school or college he needed money and money was still in the hands of British. Diarchy was actually introduced in 1921.

6. Central Government under VR would look after the following subjects for whole of India, defence, foreign affairs, railway, telegraph, foreign trade,, currency etc.

7. New provinces were made which increased the number of provinces to eight.
i. Assam, ii. Bengal, iii. Bihar, iv. Bombay, v. Madhya Pradesh, vi. Orissa, vii. Punjab, and viii. Uttar Pradesh.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

8. Separate electorates were retained for Muslims and extended to new communities. Such as, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Christians and the Europeans.

Reaction of Muslim League and Congress on these reforms.

Both parties refused to accept these reforms because majority of the demands were not accepted. The system of diarchy was also heavily criticized by all Indians. Both parties knew that British government has played a trick through introduction of diarchy. This way the real financial powers were still in the hands of British. Self-rule was also not accepted in these reforms.

Rowlett Act:

On February 6, 1919 a bill was introduced in Imperial Legislative Council for approval[18]. Immediately a sharp reaction was sparked from Muslims and Hindus alike and a heated debate arose over the rights of Indians. On March 18, same year the bill was passed and stirred political agitation.

It was an act which was specifically introduced to control the different political movements in India during that time. The most important movement was Khilafat Movement which was gaining momentum. British after dealing with First World War started to concentrate in Indian Affairs.

Through this act the police became powerful to arrest anyone without warrant and any reason. The arrested people also did not have any right to go on trial. This meant that police can do anything at any time and the people of India did not have any security from police. The most political slogan against this law was *"na daleel na wakeel"* (not reason and no lawyer). Jinnah resigned from the legislative council in protest of this act because he was strongly against it.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

Jhalianwala Bagh Incident:

On April 13, 1919[19] people living around Jhalianwala Bagh gathered into the garden to celebrate a local festival. The military in charge of Amritsar General Dyer appeared on the scene with his forces. He ordered people to leave the area or he would shoot indiscriminately. The local people ignored him and continued with their festivities. Finally General Dyer ordered his forces to shoot at people at their will. Around 400 people died at the spot and 1600 injured.

---

[18] *See,* Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 69

[19] Ibid 70

Initiation of Constitutional reforms:

According to Montague Chelmsford Reforms constitutional reforms would be revisited after 10 years. It became a pretext of the constitutional activity since the start of 1927. On December 25, 1926 Congress conducted its annual session Ghauhati[20]. They passed a resolution calling upon, "the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindus and Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Mussalman and submit their report to the All India Congress Committee not later than the 32st March, 1927"[21].

Simon Commission (1927):

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

In 1927 the secretary of state for India Lord Birkenhead announced a commission to work for the recommendations for the new constitution of India, which would replace Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. It was good news for Indians but there was a surprise of bad news in it. He did not include any Indian in it and was strongly against the idea of including Indians in any type of legislation process for India. He stated that Indians are not capable of legislation. They cannot agree on anything among themselves and can only criticize on legislation done by British.

This commission was not accepted by almost all Indian political parties. There was only one section of Muslim League which welcomed it. The league got divided on this issue. One section was under Jinnah called Jinnah League and the other was under the leadership of Shafi called Shafi league or Punjab league. The Punjab or Shafi League welcomed it and Jinnah was against it.

The report of this commission came out in 1929, which was rejected by all political parties of India.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Delhi Muslim Proposals:

In accordance to the Congress Party's initiation, Muslims on their behalf called a meeting in Delhi to offer constitutional proposals of their own which could be acceptable to all parties and protected Muslim rights. As a result on March 20, 1927 following proposals were drafted and forwarded to Congress;

---

[20] This session became important because of the assassination of Swami Shraddhanand by a Muslim, Abdul Rashid on December 23, 1926 just 2 days earlier than the session.

[21] The Nehru Report An Anti-Separatist Manifesto, 18-19

i. Sindh should be separated from Bombay and made a province.
ii. Reforms should be in traduced in N.W.F.P and Baluchistan on the same footings as in any other province of India.
iii. Reservation of seats according to population for different communities in Punjab and Bengal.
iv. Muslims should be given 1/3 representation in central legislature.

On the very next day Congress Working Committee passed a resolution and welcomed the decision of Muslims to surrender separate electorates. A sub-committee of CWC was constituted to consider various proposals presented to them[22]. Later in May from 15th to 18th CWC conducted its meetings and presented their own proposal regarding minorities[23]. They considered proposal presented to them from all minorities and smaller political parties, such as Muslims, Hindu Mahasabah etc.

Congress approved and adopted three of the four demands forwarded by Muslims, except 1/3 representation of Muslims in central legislature.

All Parties Conference and Nehru Report:

In response to this commission Congress being the largest political party of India invited all other political parties to talk. They called All Parties Conference in 1928. Dr. M.A. Ansari was the president of the conference. The main idea was that British have put up a challenge in front of Indians and now the time has come to unite and work together. All political parties of India welcomed it. Even Muslims League under Jinnah was a part of this unified effort.

A committee was shaped under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru (father of Jawaharlal Nehru) on May 19, 1928 and following were the various members;

i. Motilal Nehru.	(Congress) (Chairman of the committee)
ii. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.	(Liberals)
iii. Sir Ali Imam.	(Muslims)
iv. Shoaib Qureshi.	(Muslims)
v. Pradhan.	(Non-Brahman)
vi. Subhas Chandra Bose.	(Congress)

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[22] The sub-committee consisted of, Sarojni Naidu, Moti Lal Nehru, Srinivasa and Maulana Muhammad Ali.

[23] Anti-Separatist manifesto, 21

vii. Madhorao Aney.	(Hindu Mahasabha)
viii. M.R. Jayakar.	(Hindu Mahasabha)
xi. N. M. Joshi.	(Labor)
x. Sardar Mangal Singh.	(Sikhs)
xi. Jawaharlal Nehru	(Congress) (Served as the secretary of the committee)[24]

There were two Muslim members in this committee as well. When the report came out it was not acceptable to Muslims. Only two members Shoaib Qureshi and Pradhan did not sign the minutes. It was against the benefit of minorities. Sir Ali Imam attended only one meeting thus signed it later when the minutes were presented to him[25].

Jinnah made a very famous statement on this occasion that, "it is the parting of the ways", of Hindus and Muslims. Since then Muslims and Hindus never came on terms again and started working for their own separate agendas.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. Immediate dominion status.
2. "Declaration of Rights", should be adopted, insuring fullest liberty of conscience and religion.
3. N.W.F.P should be given full provincial status.
4. Sind should be separated from Bombay.
5. *Separate Electorates should be immediately abolished.
6. *No weightage should be allowed.
7. Reservation of seats was recommended in center and provinces where they are in minority only, and reservation was strictly to the proportion of population.
8. Bi-cameral legislature was proposed, Senate as upper house and House of representatives as lower house.
    a. *Senate would have 200 seats. Its members would be elected from provincial councils and representation of provinces would be proportional to its population.[26]
    b. "House of Representatives" of 500 should be constituted on the basis of direct elections from all over India according to the population.

---

[24] "The Nehru Report: An Anti-Separatist Manifesto", (New Delhi: Michiko & Panjathan, 1975), 23.

[25] Coupland 95

[26] This is a wrong method of representation of provinces in upper house. In upper house representation should be regardless of population proportion, such as USA senate has 100 members, 2 from each 50 states.

9. *Residuary powers would be given to the center.[27]

NOTE: (means these points were contradictory to the federal form of government and not acceptable to minorities.)*

These constitutional recommendations were hinting towards the domination of majority population in a country which was deeply divided on ethnic and religious lines. It hinted towards federalism however it was as unitary as the 1919 Montague-Chelmsford reforms were[28]. These constitutional recommendations were seen as legal yoke to strangle minorities. Anticipating it two members of the committee from minorities refused to sign it, Shoaib Qureshi (representing Muslims) and Pradhan (representing low caste Hindus).

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was disappointed on the proceedings of APC. He proposed three amendments to the Nehru Report on December 22, 1928 and offered to agree to all other recommendations. However Congress refused to accommodate these recommendations.

i. One third (1/3) seats reserved in the center for Muslims.
ii. Reserved seats for Muslims in Punjab and Bengal.
iii. Federal form of government with residuary powers vested in the provinces[29].

All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi:

Dissatisfied by the outcome of deliberations after Nehru Report Muslims decided to do away with their differences and join in to show solidarity and seriousness towards Muslim aspirations. All shades of Muslim polity in India sat under one roof in Delhi on January 1, 1929. Prominent Muslims, who had expressed their disapproval of each other, shelved their differences and attended the meeting. The following demands were unanimously voiced as a result of this important event;

i. Federal form of government, with full provincial autonomy and residuary powers[30] vested with provinces.
ii. Separate electorates should continue.
iii. Weightage should be given to Muslims.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[27] Residuary powers means all those subjects not mentioned in the concurrent list. It was negation of federalism. Smaller provinces would be neglected and over powered by central government.

[28] See, Coupland, 94

[29] S.M. Burke, 267

[30] Any powers which are not listed in Concurrent list fall in residuary powers. In this way the legislature get the authority to make laws and regulations on all such matters.

iv. Muslims should have due share in central and provincial cabinets[31].

Fourteen points of Jinnah

Nehru report was not acceptable to Muslims and they had already rejected the Simon Commission. Now Muslims had to come up with a set of their own demands which they could put in front of British. Jinnah took up this task and presented fourteen points. In these points he summed up all the demands of Muslims of India.

This was the first time that Muslims of India came up with constitutional recommendations. For a long time it was believed that Muslims are not capable enough to take part in constitutional developments. Fourteen points proved to British and Hindus that they were wrong and made them, realize the fact that now Muslims will not accept such legislation which is against their rights. It also declared that Muslims of Sub-continent are not just spectators.

First ever demand of full independence:

In 1929 the annual session of Congress was held in Lahore. Jawaharlal Nehru was the president of the session. In his presidential address he demanded full independence of India and complete withdrawal of British from India on 26th January. Later on they took this demand back during the second round table conference for the time being. Today Indians celebrate republic day on 26th January every year and it's their national holiday.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Allahabad Address 1930:

The All India Muslim League decided to conduct its annual session of 1930 at Allahabad. Allama Iqbal was the president of this session. This session became memorable due to the presidential address of Allama Iqbal. In his address Allama presented an outline of the future independent country for Muslims. In his long address he emphasized on the need for an autonomous Muslim section. He

Round Table Conferences:

The constitutional process which was started by the announcement of Simon

---

[31] See, Burke 268

Commission in 1927 was unresolved till 1930. To resolve this issue the Prime Minister of England Ramsay McDonald through Viceroy of India Lord Irwin invited all political parties to London.

First Round Table Conference;

The conference started on 12th November 1930. All parties sent their representatives to attend the session. Congress was not present in it. Congress demanded independence on 26th January 1929. Since then they started Civil Disobedience for grant of their demands. They also decided to boycott the round table conference.

The first Round Table conference started in the absence of Congress. It was impossible to achieve any constitutional solutions for India without including Congress because it represented more than 70% of Indians. It was attended by other political parties including Muslim League and the Princes of Independent states. Those who were present there agreed on two basic principles.

i. Dominion status was demanded on, immediate basis. British said they principally agree to the view point however it will be given once, the "process of realizing responsible government in India as part of British Empire was complete."[32]

ii. More responsible government was demanded in the center by Indians. British reused to share power in the center however they were willing to give powers to Indians in provinces.

iii. The idea of making federation in India was floated by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and he invited all princely states to join the proposed federation. This idea was supported by Maharaja of Bikaner, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sir Shafi.

    To proceed with the idea "Federal Structure sub-committee" was formed with 21 total members, 6 British, 5, from states and 10 from British India. it submitted its report on January, 15, 1931.

    - Federation with bi-cameral legislation, Upper house should be elected from provincial assembly and seats to provinces according to population.
    - Executive authority should be exercised by Dominion President,

---

[32] Coupland part I, 144

Commission in 1927 was unresolved till 1930. To resolve this issue the Prime Minister of England Ramsay McDonald through Viceroy of India Lord Irwin invited all political parties to London.

First Round Table Conference;

The conference started on 12th November 1930. All parties sent their representatives to attend the session. Congress was not present in it. Congress demanded independence on 26th January 1929. Since then they started Civil Disobedience for grant of their demands. They also decided to boycott the round table conference.

The first Round Table conference started in the absence of Congress. It was impossible to achieve any constitutional solutions for India without including Congress because it represented more than 70% of Indians. It was attended by other political parties including Muslim League and the Princes of Independent states. Those who were present there agreed on two basic principles.

i. Dominion status was demanded on, immediate basis. British said they principally agree to the view point however it will be given once, the "process of realizing responsible government in India as part of British Empire was complete."[32]

ii. More responsible government was demanded in the center by Indians. British reused to share power in the center however they were willing to give powers to Indians in provinces.

iii. The idea of making federation in India was floated by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and he invited all princely states to join the proposed federation. This idea was supported by Maharaja of Bikaner, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sir Shafi.

   To proceed with the idea "Federal Structure sub-committee" was formed with 21 total members, 6 British, 5, from states and 10 from British India. it submitted its report on January, 15, 1931.

   - Federation with bi-cameral legislation, Upper house should be elected from provincial assembly and seats to provinces according to population.
   - Executive authority should be exercised by Dominion President,

---

[32] Coupland part I, 144

  Governor General would invite on minister to form government which would be collectively responsible to the parliament.
- Finance would be in the hands of G.G.[33]

iv. sddgdfs

Second Round Table Conference:

After the failure of the first round table conference the Prime Minister of England Ramsay McDonald told Lord Irwin that he should make sure that the Congress would attend the next conference going to be held in 1931. Lord Irwin met Gandhi in jail to discuss the issue. Both of them agreed to resolve this matter. They made concessions to each other and this agreement is known as Gandhi Irwin Pact.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Gandhi Irwin Pact 1931

	Congress		**British**
1.	Congress agreed to withdraw demand of independence.	1.	British agreed to release all the prisoners of Congress.
2.	Congress would attend the Second Round Table conference.	2.	British agreed to lift ban from the political activities of Congress.
3.	Congress would discontinue its civil disobedience movement.		

After it the Second Round Table started with maximum hope of success but no one knew the true designs of Congress. Gandhi was alone to represent Congress in the conference. The problem started when Gandhi started to treat other political parties with disregard. He said that all the representatives present here are hangers on and do not represent true India. He further said that British should only talk to Congress in regards to the future of India.

Due to this arrogant attitude of Gandhi the Conference was bound to fail. The second round table conference was also unable to achieve its objectives. The Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald had made it clear that if Indians are unable to come up with

---

[33] See. For details, Coupland part I, 119

Governor General would invite on minister to form government which would be collectively responsible to the parliament.

- Finance would be in the hands of G.G.[33]

iv. sddgdfs

Second Round Table Conference:

After the failure of the first round table conference the Prime Minister of England Ramsay McDonald told Lord Irwin that he should make sure that the Congress would attend the next conference going to be held in 1931. Lord Irwin met Gandhi in jail to discuss the issue. Both of them agreed to resolve this matter. They made concessions to each other and this agreement is known as Gandhi Irwin Pact.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Gandhi Irwin Pact 1931

	Congress		**British**
1.	Congress agreed to withdraw demand of independence.	1.	British agreed to release all the prisoners of Congress.
2.	Congress would attend the Second Round Table conference.	2.	British agreed to lift ban from the political activities of Congress.
3.	Congress would discontinue its civil disobedience movement.		

After it the Second Round Table started with maximum hope of success but no one knew the true designs of Congress. Gandhi was alone to represent Congress in the conference. The problem started when Gandhi started to treat other political parties with disregard. He said that all the representatives present here are hangers on and do not represent true India. He further said that British should only talk to Congress in regards to the future of India.

Due to this arrogant attitude of Gandhi the Conference was bound to fail. The second round table conference was also unable to achieve its objectives. The Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald had made it clear that if Indians are unable to come up with a solution then British government had the right to come up their own solutions. This gave way to Communal Awards which were announced by the government before the third round table conference.

---

[33] See. For details, Coupland part I, 119

Third Round Table Conference:

The third round table conference was also hope less like the first one. Gandhi went back to India after the second conference and started his civil disobedience movement and was duly arrested. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had also left the politics of India and went on a self-exile to England. This conference also ended without achieving any success.

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali:

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

He was a very enthusiastic Muslim young man who was keen towards changing the political and social conditions of Muslims of India. He was a student of Cambridge University, Emanuel College in England during 1930's. During the round table conferences he was in England and wanted the Muslim delegates in the conferences to demand a separate homeland for Muslims within the geographical boundaries of India where Muslims would live with complete independence.

For this purpose he wrote a pamphlet known as "Now or Never" published in January 1933. In it he demanded Muslim leaders to demand a new separate land for which he also proposed a name "Pakistan". He also mentioned the areas which he wanted to become a part of Pakistan and he also took letters from these areas to make the word PAKISTAN.

P = Punjab
A = Afghania
K = Kashmir
I = Used as a vowel
S = Sind
TAN = Baluchistan

Other than consisting of alphabets from the demanded areas the name has another significance, it means "Land of Pure".

Controversies attached to Ch. Rehmat Ali:

Ch. Rehmat Ali is one of those political figures who are not recognized as much as others. There are many reasons behind less importance given by historians and other political leaders to Rehmat Ali. First of all when he came up with the demand of Pakistan no one (Muslim Leader) was in the mood of taking the struggle for the rights of Muslims to another level of complete independence. He was not taken seriously at the time.

Later on when he progressed in politics he demanded two other independent states out of India for Muslims along with Pakistan. The new states were, Bangistan (consisting of today's Bangladesh) and Usmanistan (consisting of Hyderabad Deccan in South India) including the previous demand of Pakistan. Later he furthered his demands and finally in third step he demanded seven (7) more independent Muslim states including the earlier three, which made the total number of independent Muslim states to be 10 out of India. Another significance of these particular demands was that if all these areas are given to Muslims as independent states then the remaining India would become land locked. After these demands no one took him seriously and every one ignored him to be as an idealist who's political vision is vague.

Another reason for ignoring him is that he was against the ideas of Jinnah and openly used to say that Jinnah is not working in the favor of Muslims of India. He argued that by making the current Pakistan a large number of Muslims would still remain in India and they would be subjected to the same or may be more persecution or behalf of the majority. He wrote a book "Pakistan" in which he has discussed his ideas about the solution of Muslims of Pakistan. He did not come to Pakistan after independence and continued his struggle for the remaining Muslims of India. He also wished not to be buried in Pakistan so after his death he was buried in England where he still rests today. There is a debate about bringing the remains of Ch. Rehmat Ali to Pakistan and construct his mausoleum.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Self-Exile of Muhammad Ali Jinnah:

In 1931 Muhammad Ali Jinnah left the politics of India and went to England. He was disheartened from the politics and differences of Indian Muslims. He said that we have so many differences amongst us that we cannot present a united front to our

opponents.
He stayed in England with his daughter and sister for three years.

Although he wanted to work for Indian Muslims but he knew that it was hopeless. In 1934 Liaquat Ali Khan paid him a visit to England along his wife Begum Rana Liaquat. There he was able to convince Jinnah to go back to India and work for the betterment of Muslims. Liaquat Ali Khan offered Jinnah life time president ship and also assured that all other Muslim Leaders would follow his advice. Muhammad Ali Jinnah came back from his self-exile in 1934 and immediately started to work for the upheaval of Muslim League. Under his leadership Muslim League became the most popular political party of Muslims of India. In the elections of 1945-46 Muslim League proved its popularity.

Communal Awards (1932):

In 1932 when nothing was achieved through the first and second round table conference then British decided to pressurize Indians to come up with a solution. For that they presented Communal Awards in 1932 August just before the third round table conference. They said if this time Indians do not decide something then they would have the right to go ahead with Communal Awards. The main features of these awards are as under.

1. The separate electorate would be continued for Muslims and would be extended to other communities.
2. The population in Bengal was not correctly calculated and they decreased the Muslim population on paper reducing their percentage to less than 50%.
3. In Punjab as well the Muslim population was reduced on paper.

These awards were rejected by Muslims because according to it they lost their clear majority in Bengal and Punjab. Congress also rejected it because it retained the separate electorates for Muslims.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Self-exile of Jinnah and his return to politics:

The leadership of Muslims had shown weaknesses during 1920's. The main problem was the trust on each other's and strategy. The leadership argued among them on how to resolve the problems faced by Muslims of sub-continent. The major example of these differences was the division of Muslim League in 1927 on the issue of Simon Commission.

One section went with Sir Shafi who was of the idea that Muslim League should welcome Simon Commission and support it. On the other hand Jinnah was of the idea that because there are no Indians included in it so it should not be accepted. Sir Shafi made a section of the League known as Punjab League and the people who went with Jinnah became part of Jinnah League.

Although the two section of League came together again but differences did not stop there. Finally after the First Round Table Conference Jinnah decide to leave the politics of sub-continent and go to England. He left India in 1931 and settled in England where he started to work as barrister. He lived there with his daughter and sister.

In 1934 Liaquat Ali Khan and other leaders of Muslim League decided that they needed the leadership and guidance of Jinnah. Liaquat Ali Khan along with his wife Rana Liaquat Ali went to England and convinced Jinnah that he should come back to India because the Muslims of India needed his to guide them. He also offered him the lifetime president-ship of Muslim League and assured that now there would be no differences and every one listen to him. Jinnah came to India in 1934 and took the command of Muslim League.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Act of India 1935:

The constitutional process which started with the announcement of Simon Commission in 1927 finally ended in 1935 with the announcement of Act of India 1935. British finally made a constitution themselves with keeping the demands of Indians in their minds. The demands of Indians could not have been fulfilled because this way British will lost their control over India. So this act was a mixture of many things. Some salient features of this act are as under:

1. The country would become a federal form of Government in future and the independent states would join the federation.
2. The system of diarchy was abolished in the provinces and was introduced at the center.

3. There would be governor appointed by the viceroy in each province. These governors would have special powers to dissolve the provincial. This was the most controversial point in the act.
4. Sind would be separated from Bombay and would be made a new province.
5. Provinces would be given maximum autonomy, so the Chief Ministers can work freely in the provinces.
6. India was going to be divided into 11 provinces.
7. Fresh elections would be conducted to form provincial and central legislative assemblies.
8. The recommendations of Communal Awards of 1932 were incorporated in this Act.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Conclusion:

Quid-e-Azam being the president of the Muslim League called it a defected piece of document for many reasons. The League showed concerns about the decrease of Muslim population in Punjab and Bengal on paper my British. Secondly the powers which were given to governors of the provinces to dissolve the provincial assemblies were against the principles of democracy. This means that the provincial government would be in continuous pressure and fear that if they do something against the wishes of British then they will dissolve the provincial assembly through the Governor. Lastly the much debated system of diarchy was still in use in the central administration.

Federal form of government:

It is needed where there are more than two provinces.

It has two house parliaments, which is also known as bicameral legislation.

Its first house is elected on the basis population. So the provinces which has large population will have more people. The second house has equal number of representation from all provinces regardless of their population or size.

Pakistan is an example of this type.

Unitary form of government:

3. There would be governor appointed by the viceroy in each province. These governors would have special powers to dissolve the provincial. This was the most controversial point in the act.
4. Sind would be separated from Bombay and would be made a new province.
5. Provinces would be given maximum autonomy, so the Chief Ministers can work freely in the provinces.
6. India was going to be divided into 11 provinces.
7. Fresh elections would be conducted to form provincial and central legislative assemblies.
8. The recommendations of Communal Awards of 1932 were incorporated in this Act.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Conclusion:

Quid-e-Azam being the president of the Muslim League called it a defected piece of document for many reasons. The League showed concerns about the decrease of Muslim population in Punjab and Bengal on paper my British. Secondly the powers which were given to governors of the provinces to dissolve the provincial assemblies were against the principles of democracy. This means that the provincial government would be in continuous pressure and fear that if they do something against the wishes of British then they will dissolve the provincial assembly through the Governor. Lastly the much debated system of diarchy was still in use in the central administration.

Federal form of government:

It is needed where there are more than two provinces.

It has two house parliaments, which is also known as bicameral legislation.

Its first house is elected on the basis population. So the provinces which has large population will have more people. The second house has equal number of representation from all provinces regardless of their population or size.

Pakistan is an example of this type.

Unitary form of government:

It is suitable in countries where there are no provinces at all, like England, Germany etc.
It has only one house parliament known as unicameral legislation.
There is no need to have the second house it only house is elected on the basis of population.

Sweden, Greece, Sri Lanka, Turkey, China, Bangladesh, Denmark, Egypt etc. are some examples of this system.

Election of 1937:

These elections were very important for the politics of India in general and politics of Muslim League in particular. The results of these elections were in favor of Congress and Muslim League got its wakeup call. Congress was able to secure victory in 8 out of 11 provinces. On the other hand Muslim League was unable to form Government in any of the provinces.

To make the things worse there were other Muslim local political parties which got victory in provinces but not the League. In 5 out of 8 Congress provinces they had full majority to form government and in the other three they formed coalition governments.

In Punjab Sir Sikandar Hayat won the elections under his political party Unionist. In N.W.F.P. Dr. Khan Sahab secured victory under his political party Red Shirts but he formed government with the help of Congress. In Bengal, Fazul-ul-Haq formed Government with the help of Independent Muslim candidates. The only significant victory for Muslim League was in those provinces where Muslims were in minority. In Muslim majority areas the League failed comprehensively.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Election Results of 1937 elections of Sindh. Table[34]

	Party	**Seats**
1	Sindh United Party (28 candidates)	22
2	Congress	7
3	Muslim Political Party (10 candidates)	3

---

[34] Tanvir Ahmed Tahir, "Political Dynamics of Sindh 1947-1977", (Karachi: Pakistan Study Center, UoK, 2010) 103

It is suitable in countries where there are no provinces at all, like England, Germany etc.
It has only one house parliament known as unicameral legislation.
There is no need to have the second house it only house is elected on the basis of population.

Sweden, Greece, Sri Lanka, Turkey, China, Bangladesh, Denmark, Egypt etc. are some examples of this system.

Election of 1937:

These elections were very important for the politics of India in general and politics of Muslim League in particular. The results of these elections were in favor of Congress and Muslim League got its wakeup call. Congress was able to secure victory in 8 out of 11 provinces. On the other hand Muslim League was unable to form Government in any of the provinces.

To make the things worse there were other Muslim local political parties which got victory in provinces but not the League. In 5 out of 8 Congress provinces they had full majority to form government and in the other three they formed coalition governments.

In Punjab Sir Sikandar Hayat won the elections under his political party Unionist. In N.W.F.P. Dr. Khan Sahab secured victory under his political party Red Shirts but he formed government with the help of Congress. In Bengal, Fazul-ul-Haq formed Government with the help of Independent Muslim candidates. The only significant victory for Muslim League was in those provinces where Muslims were in minority. In Muslim majority areas the League failed comprehensively.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Election Results of 1937 elections of Sindh. Table[34]

	Party	**Seats**
1	Sindh United Party (28 candidates)	22
2	Congress	7
3	Muslim Political Party (10 candidates)	3

---

[34] Tanvir Ahmed Tahir, "Political Dynamics of Sindh 1947-1977", (Karachi: Pakistan Study Center, UoK, 2010) 103

4	Sindh Azad Party (12 candidates)	3
5	Independents (Muslims and Hindus)	25
	Total	**60**

Congress became more rude towards all other political parties particularly Muslims League. They started to say that Muslim League does not enjoy the support of Muslims and Congress has more support of Muslims than the League.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Bengal 1937 elections

The election results (seats) were as follow:

	Party	**Seats**
1.	Congress	52
2.	Muslim League	39
3.	Krishak Proja Party	36
4.	European Group	25
5.	Tripura Krishak Samity	05
6.	Hindu Nationalist	03
7.	Hindu Mahasabha	02
8.	Anglo Indian	04
9.	Independents (Muslim)	43
10.	Independents (Hindu)	39
11.	Christian	02
	Total	**250**

Table[35]

NWFP 1937 Elections

	Party	**Seats**
1.	Congress	19
2.	Independent Muslim	21

---

[35] Syed Umar Hayat, Muslim Political Ascendancy in Bengal: A Case Study of the Roles Played by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and the Krishak Proja Party (1906-41), Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol.XXVIII, No.2 (2007) http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/latest_english_journal/muslim_political_ascendancy.pdf , 119

4	Sindh Azad Party (12 candidates)	3
5	Independents (Muslims and Hindus)	25
	Total	**60**

Congress became more rude towards all other political parties particularly Muslims League. They started to say that Muslim League does not enjoy the support of Muslims and Congress has more support of Muslims than the League.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Bengal 1937 elections

The election results (seats) were as follow:

	Party	**Seats**
1.	Congress	52
2.	Muslim League	39
3.	Krishak Proja Party	36
4.	European Group	25
5.	Tripura Krishak Samity	05
6.	Hindu Nationalist	03
7.	Hindu Mahasabha	02
8.	Anglo Indian	04
9.	Independents (Muslim)	43
10.	Independents (Hindu)	39
11.	Christian	02
	Total	**250**

Table[35]

NWFP 1937 Elections

	Party	**Seats**
1.	Congress	19
2.	Independent Muslim	21

---

[35] Syed Umar Hayat, Muslim Political Ascendancy in Bengal: A Case Study of the Roles Played by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and the Krishak Proja Party (1906-41), Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol.XXVIII, No.2 (2007) http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/latest_english_journal/muslim_political_ascendancy.pdf , 119

3.	Hindu-Sikh National Party	07
4.	Independent Hindu	01
5.	Independent Party	02
	Total	**50**

Table[36] ,

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Punjab in 1937 elections:

	Party	**Seats**
1.	Ahrar	02
2.	Muslim League	02
3.	Shiromani Akali Dal	11
4.	Khalsa National Party	13
5.	Hindu Mahasabha	12
6.	Punjab Unionist Party	98
7.	Ittehad-i-Millat	02
8.	Indian National Congress	18
9.	Congress Nationalist Party	01
	Total	**175**

Reasons for the failure of Muslim League:

Muslim League was formed in 1906 Dec. but in its first major elections after 31 years of its formation it was unable to achieve what it claimed. The League claimed that they were the true representatives of Muslims of India but in the elections of 1937 Muslims of India preferred other local parties over the League. There are many reasons behind this failure, which are as under:

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[36] Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad, Electoral Politics in NWFP: A
Study of 1937 Elections, Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol.XXXII, No.2 (2011), 129

1. The League's leadership had aristocratic outlook. Most of them were Nawabs and landlords. They did not have a proper link with common people. The meetings of the league were also not attended by many people. This gulf between the leadership and the common people played an important role in the defeat of Muslim League in the elections of 1937.

2. The main demand of Muslim League was Separate Electorates. This demand only addressed the issues of Muslims living in Hindu majority areas. The League failed to address the issues of the Muslims of Muslim majority areas. This is why the people of Muslim majority areas did not vote for the League.

3. Before the elections there was a very weak network of the offices of Muslim League across India due to which the message of the League was not spreading properly. People also were unable to become a part of Muslim League due to lack of offices.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. The League's leadership had aristocratic outlook. Most of them were Nawabs and landlords. They did not have a proper link with common people. The meetings of the league were also not attended by many people. This gulf between the leadership and the common people played an important role in the defeat of Muslim League in the elections of 1937.

2. The main demand of Muslim League was Separate Electorates. This demand only addressed the issues of Muslims living in Hindu majority areas. The League failed to address the issues of the Muslims of Muslim majority areas. This is why the people of Muslim majority areas did not vote for the League.

3. Before the elections there was a very weak network of the offices of Muslim League across India due to which the message of the League was not spreading properly. People also were unable to become a part of Muslim League due to lack of offices.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Efforts of Jinnah to reconstruct Muslim

Jinnah after coming back to India from his self-exile stated to concentrate towards the weaknesses of Muslim League. Following are the measures he took to make Muslim League popular among the Muslim masses;

1. He visited many colleges and universities and met many students. He asked them to participate in Muslim Politics to help their community to achieve its goals. He made them believe that they are the future and they have to play their role.

2. Muslim League opened new offices in many different cities across the country to accommodate more Muslims. This helped in spreading the message of Muslim League.

3. He travelled across India to get support from Muslims living in all parts of the country.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

1 I.H.Qureshi, "The Struggle for Pakistan", University of Karachi, 2006, p. 73

Efforts of Jinnah to reconstruct Muslim

Jinnah after coming back to India from his self-exile stated to concentrate towards the weaknesses of Muslim League. Following are the measures he took to make Muslim League popular among the Muslim masses;

1. He visited many colleges and universities and met many students. He asked them to participate in Muslim Politics to help their community to achieve its goals. He made them believe that they are the future and they have to play their role.

2. Muslim League opened new offices in many different cities across the country to accommodate more Muslims. This helped in spreading the message of Muslim League.

3. He travelled across India to get support from Muslims living in all parts of the country.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

1 I.H.Qureshi, "The Struggle for Pakistan", University of Karachi, 2006, p. 73

Congress Rule and difficulties faced by Muslims (1937-39):

After a comprehensive victory Congress was able to form their government in 8 out of 11 provinces. In 5 of them they formed single party government and in other three they formed coalition governments. Before taking oath Congress party made it sure that there is no check on their ministries that is why they said that they will not take oath until British assure that the governors of the provinces will not use their emergency powers.

After forming government Congress brought all the changes they wanted to without considering the feeling of other communities' particularly Muslim community. Immediately after taking control Congress started to pass draconian laws which were offensive to Muslims. Many Muslims living in the Congress provinces started to complain to Muslim League. In March 1938 a committee of 8 members was formed to find out about the grievances of Muslims. The chairman of this committee was Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur. The report came out in November 1938 which identified and discussed the atrocities of Congress. Then another report came out in March 1939 known as Shareef Report which served the same purpose. Lastly Fazul Haq Report was prepared to find out the atrocities faced my Muslims in provinces under Congress Ministries. Following are the findings of these reports which describe the true picture of Muslims of Hindu majority areas;

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. Ban on Azan:

The congress ministries banned "Azan" on loud speakers in their provinces. This was a step which infuriated Muslims living in these provinces. Muslims are bound to observe "Namaz" and "Azan" is the call for it. By taking this step they showed that they do no care about other religions.

2. Ban on slaughtering of cows:

Cow is one of those animals which are not forbidden by Allah for Muslims. It also is a main meat source for Muslims across the world. On "Eid-ul-Azha" Muslims sacrifice animals in the path of Allah and cow is the main choice of most.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Congress Rule and difficulties faced by Muslims (1937-39):

After a comprehensive victory Congress was able to form their government in 8 out of 11 provinces. In 5 of them they formed single party government and in other three they formed coalition governments. Before taking oath Congress party made it sure that there is no check on their ministries that is why they said that they will not take oath until British assure that the governors of the provinces will not use their emergency powers.

After forming government Congress brought all the changes they wanted to without considering the feeling of other communities' particularly Muslim community. Immediately after taking control Congress started to pass draconian laws which were offensive to Muslims. Many Muslims living in the Congress provinces started to complain to Muslim League. In March 1938 a committee of 8 members was formed to find out about the grievances of Muslims. The chairman of this committee was Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur. The report came out in November 1938 which identified and discussed the atrocities of Congress. Then another report came out in March 1939 known as Shareef Report which served the same purpose. Lastly Fazul Haq Report was prepared to find out the atrocities faced my Muslims in provinces under Congress Ministries. Following are the findings of these reports which describe the true picture of Muslims of Hindu majority areas;

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

JOIN ME FOR EASY ACCESS TO BOOKS & NOTES
+92-310-545-450-3

1. Ban on Azan:

The congress ministries banned "Azan" on loud speakers in their provinces. This was a step which infuriated Muslims living in these provinces. Muslims are bound to observe "Namaz" and "Azan" is the call for it. By taking this step they showed that they do no care about other religions.

Css Aspirants ebooks & Notes
https://m.facebook.com/groups/458184410965870
Css Aspirants Forum
http://t.me/CssAspirantsForum

2. Ban on slaughtering of cows:

Cow is one of those animals which are not forbidden by Allah for Muslims. It also is a main meat source for Muslims across the world. On "Eid-ul-Azha" Muslims sacrifice animals in the path of Allah and cow is the main choice of most.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Rules of the group.
*No irrelevant text/pic Islamic videos
*No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked
*Personal text w/o Mutual consent Consider harassment.
Separate Group For Females with verfication
The CSS Group does not hold any rights on shared the Books & Notes
I,m not Responsible for Copyrights.
This book/notes downloaded from the internet.

3. Disturbances during worships in mosques:

The congress supporters and Hindus used to conduct noisy processions during the 'namaz' time which was disturbing Muslims. Then in some places it was reported that some fanatic Congress supporters threw dead pigs in Mosques.

4. Education Policy:

A new education policy was introduced under the title of Wardha Scheme. There were many new proposals which were not acceptable to Muslims living in Congress Provinces. The religious education was not allowed at any level. This way the Muslim families thought that their children will slowly get far from their religion. Then the Hindu principle of 'Ahinsa' was propagated on a large scale according to which one should not resort to violence at any cost. On the other hand Islam also teaches about the peace but it also tells Muslims to fight in the name of Allah, Jihad if someone tries to wage war against you.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

5. Schools and colleges:

Students of schools and colleges were supposed to pay respect to the portrait of Gandhi on their way into the building. This was again an act which Muslims cannot accept. Then in schools and colleges the practice of making thread by throwing wheel was adopted. This was a political symbol of Congress which was started by Gandhi.

6. Wande Mataram:

A Hindu nationalist song was written by a Bengali writer. This song gave the message that India is a sacred land only for Hindus and all the other people including Muslims are outsiders.

Day of Deliverance 22nd December 1939:

In September 1939 World War II started and again England was involved in it. The government of England asked for support in the war from Indians. The people of India replied that they will only support British in this war if they get complete independence from British rule.

3. Disturbances during worships in mosques:

The congress supporters and Hindus used to conduct noisy processions during the 'namaz' time which was disturbing Muslims. Then in some places it was reported that some fanatic Congress supporters threw dead pigs in Mosques.

4. Education Policy:

A new education policy was introduced under the title of Wardha Scheme. There were many new proposals which were not acceptable to Muslims living in Congress Provinces. The religious education was not allowed at any level. This way the Muslim families thought that their children will slowly get far from their religion. Then the Hindu principle of 'Ahinsa' was propagated on a large scale according to which one should not resort to violence at any cost. On the other hand Islam also teaches about the peace but it also tells Muslims to fight in the name of Allah, Jihad if someone tries to wage war against you.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

5. Schools and colleges:

Students of schools and colleges were supposed to pay respect to the portrait of Gandhi on their way into the building. This was again an act which Muslims cannot accept. Then in schools and colleges the practice of making thread by throwing wheel was adopted. This was a political symbol of Congress which was started by Gandhi.

6. Wande Mataram:

A Hindu nationalist song was written by a Bengali writer. This song gave the message that India is a sacred land only for Hindus and all the other people including Muslims are outsiders.

Day of Deliverance 22nd December 1939:

In September 1939 World War II started and again England was involved in it. The government of England asked for support in the war from Indians. The people of India replied that they will only support British in this war if they get complete independence from British rule.

3. Disturbances during worships in mosques:

The congress supporters and Hindus used to conduct noisy processions during the 'namaz' time which was disturbing Muslims. Then in some places it was reported that some fanatic Congress supporters threw dead pigs in Mosques.

4. Education Policy:

A new education policy was introduced under the title of Wardha Scheme. There were many new proposals which were not acceptable to Muslims living in Congress Provinces. The religious education was not allowed at any level. This way the Muslim families thought that their children will slowly get far from their religion. Then the Hindu principle of 'Ahinsa' was propagated on a large scale according to which one should not resort to violence at any cost. On the other hand Islam also teaches about the peace but it also tells Muslims to fight in the name of Allah, Jihad if someone tries to wage war against you.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

5. Schools and colleges:

Students of schools and colleges were supposed to pay respect to the portrait of Gandhi on their way into the building. This was again an act which Muslims cannot accept. Then in schools and colleges the practice of making thread by throwing wheel was adopted. This was a political symbol of Congress which was started by Gandhi.

6. Wande Mataram:

A Hindu nationalist song was written by a Bengali writer. This song gave the message that India is a sacred land only for Hindus and all the other people including Muslims are outsiders.

Day of Deliverance 22nd December 1939:

In September 1939 World War II started and again England was involved in it. The government of England asked for support in the war from Indians. The people of India replied that they will only support British in this war if they get complete independence from British rule.

When British government did not accept this demand Congress party resigned from all of their provincial ministries.

Jinnah considered this resignation as good news for all the Muslims who were living under Congress government. He declared that on 22nd December 1939 all Muslims will celebrate Day of Deliverance. The main reason for this celebration was that now Muslims would not have to face all the atrocities and hardships of Congress rule any more.

Pakistan Resolution 23rd March 1940:

The Muslim League decided to conduct its annual session of 1940 in Lahore in Manto Park also known as Iqbal Park. During this session the final decision of most of the Muslims of sub-continent was spelled out. A resolution was passed which changed the future of all the people of India Muslims and non-Muslims.

A.K.Fazlul Haq forwarded the resolution asking a separate homeland for Muslims of Western and Eastern India.

When British government did not accept this demand Congress party resigned from all of their provincial ministries.

Jinnah considered this resignation as good news for all the Muslims who were living under Congress government. He declared that on 22nd December 1939 all Muslims will celebrate Day of Deliverance. The main reason for this celebration was that now Muslims would not have to face all the atrocities and hardships of Congress rule any more.

Pakistan Resolution 23rd March 1940:

The Muslim League decided to conduct its annual session of 1940 in Lahore in Manto Park also known as Iqbal Park. During this session the final decision of most of the Muslims of sub-continent was spelled out. A resolution was passed which changed the future of all the people of India Muslims and non-Muslims.

A.K.Fazlul Haq forwarded the resolution asking a separate homeland for Muslims of Western and Eastern India.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

"While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935 is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de novo and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguard shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary".

Besides many others, the Resolution was seconded by Chaudhary Khaliquzzam from UP, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan from Punjab, Sardar Aurangzeb from the N. W. F. P, Sir Abdullah Haroon from Sindh, and Qazi Muhammad Esa from Baluchistan. Those who seconded the resolution, in their speeches declared the occasion as a historic one. The Resolution was eventually passed on the last day of the moot, i.e. March 24".

"While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935 is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de novo and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguard shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary".

Besides many others, the Resolution was seconded by Chaudhary Khaliquzzam from UP, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan from Punjab, Sardar Aurangzeb from the N. W. F. P, Sir Abdullah Haroon from Sindh, and Qazi Muhammad Esa from Baluchistan. Those who seconded the resolution, in their speeches declared the occasion as a historic one. The Resolution was eventually passed on the last day of the moot, i.e. March 24".

Cripps Mission Plan 1942:

Since the start of the Second World War in 1939 British wanted the complete support of Indians in the war. First offer was made in 1939 but it was refused by Indians and Congress also resigned from their ministries. The events which occurred in the early 1940’s changed the situation and British thought that now Indians would reconsider their position and may support the war.

In 1941 Japan attacked USA at Pearl Harbour and entered the Great War. It joined the German Camp and declared war against England and her allies. England looked at it as an opportunity to pursue India to support the war. Japan started to invade countries towards east. India was in approach of Japan. If Japan wanted to attack England directly it was very difficult because geographically England was very far from Japan. So the best way to harm England was to attack India because it was the economic engine of England.

In 1942 British sent Stafford Cripps to India with a set of proposals for India. In return they wanted Indian support in the war. The draft declaration which Cripps brought with him to India was published on 30th March 1942. These proposals are as under:

1. India would be made a dominion of United Kingdom.
2. Immediately after the war a new body for making a constitution would be framed through provincial legislatures. Any constitution made by this body would be acceptable to British.
3. India would be made a union and any province would be free to join this union or not.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

“Draft Declaration for Discussion with Indian Leaders, Wished March 30, 1942

The conclusions of the British War Cabinet as set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps has taken with him for discussion with the Indian Leaders and the question as to whether they will be implemented will depend upon the outcome of these discussions which are now taking place.

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object

Cripps Mission Plan 1942:

Since the start of the Second World War in 1939 British wanted the complete support of Indians in the war. First offer was made in 1939 but it was refused by Indians and Congress also resigned from their ministries. The events which occurred in the early 1940's changed the situation and British thought that now Indians would reconsider their position and may support the war.

In 1941 Japan attacked USA at Pearl Harbour and entered the Great War. It joined the German Camp and declared war against England and her allies. England looked at it as an opportunity to pursue India to support the war. Japan started to invade countries towards east. India was in approach of Japan. If Japan wanted to attack England directly it was very difficult because geographically England was very far from Japan. So the best way to harm England was to attack India because it was the economic engine of England.

In 1942 British sent Stafford Cripps to India with a set of proposals for India. In return they wanted Indian support in the war. The draft declaration which Cripps brought with him to India was published on 30th March 1942. These proposals are as under:

1. India would be made a dominion of United Kingdom.
2. Immediately after the war a new body for making a constitution would be framed through provincial legislatures. Any constitution made by this body would be acceptable to British.
3. India would be made a union and any province would be free to join this union or not.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

“Draft Declaration for Discussion with Indian Leaders, Wished March 30, 1942

The conclusions of the British War Cabinet as set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps has taken with him for discussion with the Indian Leaders and the question as to whether they will be implemented will depend upon the outcome of these discussions which are now taking place.

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration:

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution-making body.

(c) His Majesty's Government undertakes to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to:

(i) the right of any Province of British India that is* not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) the signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body. This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities , but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relation to the other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration:

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution-making body.

(c) His Majesty's Government undertakes to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to:

(i) the right of any Province of British India that is* not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) the signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body. This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities , but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relation to the other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(d) the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities:

> Immediately upon the result being known of the provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of the Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the Electoral College. Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India.
His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a tank which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India."[37]

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[37] Coupland, *The Indian Problem,* 336-337

situation.

(d) the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities:

> Immediately upon the result being known of the provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of the Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the Electoral College. Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India.
His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a tank which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India."[37]

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[37] Coupland, *The Indian Problem,* 336-337

Quit India Movement:

In reaction the Congress party said they do not accept the proposals offered by Sir Stafford Cripps. They said Japan does not have any enmity with India. If British leave India there is no threat of Japanese invasion. So British should give complete independence and leave India as soon as possible. To further pressurize British the Congress started a political movement "Quit India" movement. In this movement they demanded British to immediately leave India and give it independence. Although this movement was unable to achieve its objectives at that time but in the longer run it became helpful to make British realize that now Indians are unwilling to allow them to manipulate India.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Divide and Quit India:

On the other hand Muslim League was also not satisfied with the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps. They said his proposals do no talk about the creation of Pakistan. So Muslim League cannot accept anything without Pakistan being offered in it. Muslims were also suspicious of the Quit India Movement because it did not consider the demand of Muslims of separate homeland. So Muslims League started "Divide and Quit India" movement. Through this movement Muslims of sub-continent gave a clear message to British and Congress that they wanted independence and separation from Hindus.

Quit India Movement:

In reaction the Congress party said they do not accept the proposals offered by Sir Stafford Cripps. They said Japan does not have any enmity with India. If British leave India there is no threat of Japanese invasion. So British should give complete independence and leave India as soon as possible. To further pressurize British the Congress started a political movement "Quit India" movement. In this movement they demanded British to immediately leave India and give it independence. Although this movement was unable to achieve its objectives at that time but in the longer run it became helpful to make British realize that now Indians are unwilling to allow them to manipulate India.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Divide and Quit India:

On the other hand Muslim League was also not satisfied with the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps. They said his proposals do no talk about the creation of Pakistan. So Muslim League cannot accept anything without Pakistan being offered in it. Muslims were also suspicious of the Quit India Movement because it did not consider the demand of Muslims of separate homeland. So Muslims League started "Divide and Quit India" movement. Through this movement Muslims of sub-continent gave a clear message to British and Congress that they wanted independence and separation from Hindus.

Gandhi Jinnah Talks 1944:

In 1944 Lord Wavell became Viceroy of India. He was man of moderate approach towards the problems. To create the feeling to reconciliation and brotherhood he released many political prisoners. Gandhi was also released during this time, who was in jail due to his Quit India movement. After coming out of jail he immediately contacted Jinnah to talk about the future of Muslims in India.

Jinnah agreed and the meetings were held at Jinnah's home in Bombay. The first thing Gandhi said was that Congress and Muslim League should come over their differences and join hands to get rid of British. He said we need to work together to send British back to England and then we will talk about the rights and problems of India after we get Independence. He said this is our internal matter. Jinnah was staunch enough to understand that it was a trap in which Congress wanted Muslims to fell. He knew it well that once British leave India without deciding the issue of Muslim separate home land Congress will do anything to suppress the voices of Muslims and will not give them their rights. Jinnah refused this offer.

Secondly Gandhi tried to argue that Muslims of India do not have proper ground to ask for a separate home land with in India. He said there are two types of Muslims in India and both of them cannot ask for a separate home land. The first type he said are those who have come from other parts of the world and stayed in India for example, Arabs, Turks, Persian and Afghans. In this case if they want their homeland then they should return back to their countries. Secondly there are those Muslims who are the inhabitants of India and they converted their faith after Muslims came to India. In this case India is their home land and they do not have any right to ask a separate homeland. Jinnah dismissed his arguments on the basis of modern democratic principles.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Simla Conference 1945:

In 1945 the Viceroy of India Lord Wavell decided to conduct new elections. For this purpose an administrative setup was required to conduct elections. To form this setup he invited major political parties to Simla. He said that in the interim setup there would be equal number of Muslims and Hindus.

To discuss the working and formulation of this interim setup Lord Wavell invited major political parties to Simla in June 1945. Everyone agreed to the principle of having a

Gandhi Jinnah Talks 1944:

In 1944 Lord Wavell became Viceroy of India. He was man of moderate approach towards the problems. To create the feeling to reconciliation and brotherhood he released many political prisoners. Gandhi was also released during this time, who was in jail due to his Quit India movement. After coming out of jail he immediately contacted Jinnah to talk about the future of Muslims in India.

Jinnah agreed and the meetings were held at Jinnah's home in Bombay. The first thing Gandhi said was that Congress and Muslim League should come over their differences and join hands to get rid of British. He said we need to work together to send British back to England and then we will talk about the rights and problems of India after we get Independence. He said this is our internal matter. Jinnah was staunch enough to understand that it was a trap in which Congress wanted Muslims to fell. He knew it well that once British leave India without deciding the issue of Muslim separate home land Congress will do anything to suppress the voices of Muslims and will not give them their rights. Jinnah refused this offer.

Secondly Gandhi tried to argue that Muslims of India do not have proper ground to ask for a separate home land with in India. He said there are two types of Muslims in India and both of them cannot ask for a separate home land. The first type he said are those who have come from other parts of the world and stayed in India for example, Arabs, Turks, Persian and Afghans. In this case if they want their homeland then they should return back to their countries. Secondly there are those Muslims who are the inhabitants of India and they converted their faith after Muslims came to India. In this case India is their home land and they do not have any right to ask a separate homeland. Jinnah dismissed his arguments on the basis of modern democratic principles.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Simla Conference 1945:

In 1945 the Viceroy of India Lord Wavell decided to conduct new elections. For this purpose an administrative setup was required to conduct elections. To form this setup he invited major political parties to Simla. He said that in the interim setup there would be equal number of Muslims and Hindus.

To discuss the working and formulation of this interim setup Lord Wavell invited major political parties to Simla in June 1945. Everyone agreed to the principle of having a council. However the discussion came on a standstill on the point of nominations. The main issue was the nomination of Muslim members. Muslim League was claiming that all the Muslim members would be nominated by us. On the other hand Congress was claiming that they have a large number of Muslim members and they represent Muslims as well, so Congress also has the right to nominate Muslim members.

Muslim League was in an awkward position because it cannot claim that they represent Hindus as well. However Jinnah gave one name of a Hindu member to represent Muslim League. The dispute between the parties was not resolved and the conference ended without achieving its goals.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Winter Elections 1945-46:

In 1945 British conducted general elections for new governments across India. The results of these elections were like a new life for Muslim League. The league got convincing victory across India. In central legislative assembly the League was successful in winning all Muslim seats which means it was a 100% victory for Muslim league. In the provinces they were able to get 87% of total Muslims seats.

Before the elections Congress was confident that they would get a large number of Muslim votes and that is why they used to portray themselves as the true representatives of Muslims of India. These elections officially brought Muslim League on the equal footings with Congress. Now Muslim League has earned the right to talk on behalf of all Muslims of India. This convincing victory also strengthened the demand of Pakistan, because people voted for Muslim League which had a single demand of Pakistan.

The results of winter elections also bring into prominence the leadership qualities of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Since the loss of the election in 1937 Jinnah had taken full charge of Muslim League and had taken the League to new heights. The results of Winter Elections were the confirmation of the fact that Jinnah's leadership was very important for the Muslims of sub-continent.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

council. However the discussion came on a standstill on the point of nominations. The main issue was the nomination of Muslim members. Muslim League was claiming that all the Muslim members would be nominated by us. On the other hand Congress was claiming that they have a large number of Muslim members and they represent Muslims as well, so Congress also has the right to nominate Muslim members.

Muslim League was in an awkward position because it cannot claim that they represent Hindus as well. However Jinnah gave one name of a Hindu member to represent Muslim League. The dispute between the parties was not resolved and the conference ended without achieving its goals.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Winter Elections 1945-46:

In 1945 British conducted general elections for new governments across India. The results of these elections were like a new life for Muslim League. The league got convincing victory across India. In central legislative assembly the League was successful in winning all Muslim seats which means it was a 100% victory for Muslim league. In the provinces they were able to get 87% of total Muslims seats.

Before the elections Congress was confident that they would get a large number of Muslim votes and that is why they used to portray themselves as the true representatives of Muslims of India. These elections officially brought Muslim League on the equal footings with Congress. Now Muslim League has earned the right to talk on behalf of all Muslims of India. This convincing victory also strengthened the demand of Pakistan, because people voted for Muslim League which had a single demand of Pakistan.

The results of winter elections also bring into prominence the leadership qualities of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Since the loss of the election in 1937 Jinnah had taken full charge of Muslim League and had taken the League to new heights. The results of Winter Elections were the confirmation of the fact that Jinnah's leadership was very important for the Muslims of sub-continent.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Comparison between the elections of 1937 and 1945:

It is very important here to understand the reasons for the outcomes of the two mentioned elections and especially the reasons for the outcome for Muslim League. In 1937 elections Muslim League lost elections heavily by the hands of local Muslim political parties in the Muslim majority areas (as discussed earlier) and the little success they were able to achieve was in the Muslim minority areas or where Congress formed government.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

i. Agenda:

The main agenda for which Muslim League contested elections for in 1937 was separate electorates and weightage. This agenda only attracted Muslims living in the Hindu majority areas and did not appeal Muslims of Punjab, Sindh, Bengal and NWFP that much.

On the other hand in 1945 elections ML had framed a new universal agenda of a separate homeland for Muslims in sub-continent. This agenda was adopted officially after the famous Pakistan resolution on 23rd March 1940 in Lahore. This time the Muslims of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Bengal saw their interest in the sense that if ML succeeds then they will become independent from Congress or Hindu domination.

ii. Alliances:

In 1937 Muslim League contested elections individually. Other than Congress which was a Hindu dominated political party ML also contested elections against other Muslim dominated political parties for example, Sindh United fron, Unionist party in Punjab etc.

In 1945 elections ML asked many Muslim dominated political parties not to contest election against them to show Congress and British that Muslims of India are one force. Jinnah was able to make them agree to this point.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Cabinet Mission Plan 1946:

Comparison between the elections of 1937 and 1945:

It is very important here to understand the reasons for the outcomes of the two mentioned elections and especially the reasons for the outcome for Muslim League. In 1937 elections Muslim League lost elections heavily by the hands of local Muslim political parties in the Muslim majority areas (as discussed earlier) and the little success they were able to achieve was in the Muslim minority areas or where Congress formed government.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

i. Agenda:

The main agenda for which Muslim League contested elections for in 1937 was separate electorates and weightage. This agenda only attracted Muslims living in the Hindu majority areas and did not appeal Muslims of Punjab, Sindh, Bengal and NWFP that much.

On the other hand in 1945 elections ML had framed a new universal agenda of a separate homeland for Muslims in sub-continent. This agenda was adopted officially after the famous Pakistan resolution on 23rd March 1940 in Lahore. This time the Muslims of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Bengal saw their interest in the sense that if ML succeeds then they will become independent from Congress or Hindu domination.

ii. Alliances:

In 1937 Muslim League contested elections individually. Other than Congress which was a Hindu dominated political party ML also contested elections against other Muslim dominated political parties for example, Sindh United fron, Unionist party in Punjab etc.

In 1945 elections ML asked many Muslim dominated political parties not to contest election against them to show Congress and British that Muslims of India are one force. Jinnah was able to make them agree to this point.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Cabinet Mission Plan 1946:

The winter elections proved that the division of India was now inevitable. The success of Muslim League in the elections proved that Muslims all across India have supported the demand of Pakistan. However the British gave it a last try to keep India united. For this purpose three members of British Cabinet Stafford Cripps, A.V. Alexander and Pathick Lawrence. Lord Wavell the Viceroy of India assisted them.

The Cabinet Mission Plan gave different proposals to Congress and Muslim League and asked them to consider them to live together. They said that any solution achieved now would be a temporary solution which would work for 10 years. During these ten years the either parties or communities would give another a chance to prove them. At the expiration of the time either parties or communities would be free to stay together or to make their own country. Until then the country would work as a union. Congress and Muslims League agreed to this basic principle.

The next step was the demarcation of the boundaries of Muslim areas and Hindu areas for making different provinces. Wavell said Muslim League should take Baluchistan, Sind, N.W.F.P and West Punjab and make western part of Muslims India. Jinnah replied that Punjab cannot be accepted without its Eastern part. He said this way the province would be very weak because most of the resources of Punjab are located in Eastern part. That is why Jinnah refused this proposal.

Then in the second proposal British said that the province of Bengal would be divided between Hindu and Muslim population. According to this plan most of the important areas of Bengal were going to be given to Hindus including the most important city of Calcutta. It is located on the bank of river Hugly and has served as the center of trade of Bengal since British established it in 1690. This plan was also refused by Jinnah. He said that this way the part which British are offering to Muslims will be handicapped.

Lastly British said that the Indian Territory should be divided in three parts. Part 'A' would include all the Muslim majority areas of West. Part 'B' would consist of all the Hindu Majority areas in the central India and Part 'C' would have the Eastern Muslim majority areas. Further it was decided that this setup will last for ten years and the parties at the end of this period would decide about the future that they want to stay together or they want to divide India. Jinnah agreed to this last proposal. Congress also agreed on it.

Unfortunately Jawaharlal Nehru made a statement regarding this agreement. He said that Congress would not feel bound by this agreement once British leave India. This act of Nehru decided the fate of sub-continent. This meant that Muslims of India would

The winter elections proved that the division of India was now inevitable. The success of Muslim League in the elections proved that Muslims all across India have supported the demand of Pakistan. However the British gave it a last try to keep India united. For this purpose three members of British Cabinet Stafford Cripps, A.V. Alexander and Pathick Lawrence. Lord Wavell the Viceroy of India assisted them.

The Cabinet Mission Plan gave different proposals to Congress and Muslim League and asked them to consider them to live together. They said that any solution achieved now would be a temporary solution which would work for 10 years. During these ten years the either parties or communities would give another a chance to prove them. At the expiration of the time either parties or communities would be free to stay together or to make their own country. Until then the country would work as a union. Congress and Muslims League agreed to this basic principle.

The next step was the demarcation of the boundaries of Muslim areas and Hindu areas for making different provinces. Wavell said Muslim League should take Baluchistan, Sind, N.W.F.P and West Punjab and make western part of Muslims India. Jinnah replied that Punjab cannot be accepted without its Eastern part. He said this way the province would be very weak because most of the resources of Punjab are located in Eastern part. That is why Jinnah refused this proposal.

Then in the second proposal British said that the province of Bengal would be divided between Hindu and Muslim population. According to this plan most of the important areas of Bengal were going to be given to Hindus including the most important city of Calcutta. It is located on the bank of river Hugly and has served as the center of trade of Bengal since British established it in 1690. This plan was also refused by Jinnah. He said that this way the part which British are offering to Muslims will be handicapped.

Lastly British said that the Indian Territory should be divided in three parts. Part 'A' would include all the Muslim majority areas of West. Part 'B' would consist of all the Hindu Majority areas in the central India and Part 'C' would have the Eastern Muslim majority areas. Further it was decided that this setup will last for ten years and the parties at the end of this period would decide about the future that they want to stay together or they want to divide India. Jinnah agreed to this last proposal. Congress also agreed on it.

Unfortunately Jawaharlal Nehru made a statement regarding this agreement. He said that Congress would not feel bound by this agreement once British leave India. This act of Nehru decided the fate of sub-continent. This meant that Muslims of India would have to face Congress rigidity and atrocities which they faced during Congress rule of 1937-39. Consequently Muslim League backed out of the agreement and protested on the attitude of Nehru. This way the final attempt to keep India united also failed. Abul Kalam Azad rightly said in his book, ‘India Wins Freedom’ that “Jinnah did not make Pakistan Nehru did”.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Direct Action Day (16th August 1946):

After the failure of Cabinet Mission plan and rude attitude of Congress Jinnah and Muslim League decided that there was need to take the struggle for Pakistan to the next level. Jinnah stated that now it’s our turn to hold the pistol and dictate our terms. So it was declared that on 16th August 1946 a Direct Action Day would be conducted by Muslim League across sub-continent in which Muslims where ever they live would come out on streets to protest.

This turned to be a very dangerous decision. Riots erupted across India and only in Calcutta around 4000 people lost their lives. These were the largest riots before 1947. Although many lives were lost but it became evident that Muslims cannot be ignored and their demands are serious.

3rd June plan 1947 and Independence Act 1947:

In the first quarter of 1 947Lord Atlee the new prime minister of England declared that British will leave sub-continent by June 1948. Till then the British government will make the necessary arrangements to accommodate the transfer of power to the local people.

He called back Lord Wavell and sent Lord Mountbatten as new viceroy of India. The main task of him was to arrange the transfer and divide the assets, resources and land between the two future parts of Indian sub-continent. He arrived in India in March 1947.

On 3rd June Lord Mountbatten came up with a plan of division of sub-continent. In it he sealed the fate of the future state of Pakistan. This plan became famous as 3rd June Plan. Some salient features of this plan are as under:

1. The British will give independence to India on 15th August 1947.
2. The assets between Pakistan and India would be divided on the ratio of

have to face Congress rigidity and atrocities which they faced during Congress rule of 1937-39. Consequently Muslim League backed out of the agreement and protested on the attitude of Nehru. This way the final attempt to keep India united also failed. Abul Kalam Azad rightly said in his book, ‘India Wins Freedom’ that “Jinnah did not make Pakistan Nehru did”.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Direct Action Day (16th August 1946):

After the failure of Cabinet Mission plan and rude attitude of Congress Jinnah and Muslim League decided that there was need to take the struggle for Pakistan to the next level. Jinnah stated that now it’s our turn to hold the pistol and dictate our terms. So it was declared that on 16th August 1946 a Direct Action Day would be conducted by Muslim League across sub-continent in which Muslims where ever they live would come out on streets to protest.

This turned to be a very dangerous decision. Riots erupted across India and only in Calcutta around 4000 people lost their lives. These were the largest riots before 1947. Although many lives were lost but it became evident that Muslims cannot be ignored and their demands are serious.

3rd June plan 1947 and Independence Act 1947:

In the first quarter of 1 947Lord Atlee the new prime minister of England declared that British will leave sub-continent by June 1948. Till then the British government will make the necessary arrangements to accommodate the transfer of power to the local people.

He called back Lord Wavell and sent Lord Mountbatten as new viceroy of India. The main task of him was to arrange the transfer and divide the assets, resources and land between the two future parts of Indian sub-continent. He arrived in India in March 1947.

On 3rd June Lord Mountbatten came up with a plan of division of sub-continent. In it he sealed the fate of the future state of Pakistan. This plan became famous as 3rd June Plan. Some salient features of this plan are as under:

1. The British will give independence to India on 15th August 1947.
2. The assets between Pakistan and India would be divided on the ratio of

5/17.

3. Sind, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P would be given to Pakistan completely if their people confirm it and give a vote for Pakistan.
4. The provinces of Punjab and Bengal would be divided because they have mix population. According to a formula the Muslim majority districts would become part of Pakistan and non-Muslim majority districts would become part of India.
5. To decide the boundaries between Pakistan and India a commission was setup and Cyril Radcliff became its chairman. He had hardly spent any time in India so it was clear that such a man would not be able to deliver. He used to take direct dictation from the viceroy over the issue of division of land. There were two sub-committee of this commission one for Punjab and one for Bengal. (The final report of this commission came out on 16th August 1947, which means two days after the independence of Pakistan. This contributed a lot in the violence during the migration after independence, because the people living in areas close to present Pakistan thought their area would be part of Pakistan).
6. All the independent states in sub-continent were given the choice to decide on their own that which country would they accede to or they want to remain independent.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

5/17.

3. Sind, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P would be given to Pakistan completely if their people confirm it and give a vote for Pakistan.
4. The provinces of Punjab and Bengal would be divided because they have mix population. According to a formula the Muslim majority districts would become part of Pakistan and non-Muslim majority districts would become part of India.
5. To decide the boundaries between Pakistan and India a commission was setup and Cyril Radcliff became its chairman. He had hardly spent any time in India so it was clear that such a man would not be able to deliver. He used to take direct dictation from the viceroy over the issue of division of land. There were two sub-committee of this commission one for Punjab and one for Bengal. (The final report of this commission came out on 16th August 1947, which means two days after the independence of Pakistan. This contributed a lot in the violence during the migration after independence, because the people living in areas close to present Pakistan thought their area would be part of Pakistan).
6. All the independent states in sub-continent were given the choice to decide on their own that which country would they accede to or they want to remain independent.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

SIR GYRIL RADCLIFFE AAWARD

To His Excellency the Governor - General

1. I have the honour to present the decision and award of the Punjab Boundary Commission which, by virtue of section 4 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947in represented by my decision as Chairman of that Commission.

2. The Punjab Boundary Commission was constituted by the announcement of the Governor-General, dated the 30th of June 1 947. Reference No. D50/7/47R.Theinembers of the Commission there by appointed were-

Mr. Justice Din Mohammad,
Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir,
Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, and,
Mr. Justice Teja Singh.

I was subsequently appointed Chairman of this commission.

3. The terms of reference of the Commission, as set out in the announcement were as follows:-

> " The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors."

We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before the 1 5th of August.

4. After preliminary meeting, the Commission invited the submission of memorandum and representation by interested parties. Numerous memoranda and representations were received.

5. The public sittings of the Commission took Place at Lahore, and extended from Monday the 21st of July 1947, to Thursday the 31st of July 1947, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, the 27th of July. The main arguments were conducted by counsel on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League; and the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly; but a number of other interested parties appeared and argued before the Commission. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings of all material submitted for our consideration.

6. After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Simla where I joined by colleagues, and we entered upon discussion in the hope of being able to present an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the boundaries. I am greatly indebted to my colleagues for indispensable assistances in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments for different yiew3, but it became evident in the course of our discussions that divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained. I do not intend to convey by this that there were not large areas of the Punjab on the West and on the East respectively which provoked no controversy as to which State they should be assigned to; but when it came to the extensive but disputed areas in which the boundary must be drawn, differences of opinion as to the significance of the term "other factors" , which we were directed by our terms of reference to take into account, and as to the weight and value to be attached to those factors, made it impossible to arrive at any agreed line. In these circumstances my colleagues, at the close of our discussions, assented to the conclusion that I must proceed to give my own decision.

7. This I now proceed to do. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached there to, Annexure B. The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should he my divergence between the boundary as described Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B, the description Annexure A is to prevail.

8. Certain representations were addressed to the Commission on behalf of the States of Bikaner and Bahawalpur both of which States interested in canals whose headwork's were situated in the Punjab Province, I have taken the view that an interest of this sort cannot weigh directly in the question before us as to the division of the Punjab between the Indian Union and Pakistan since the territorial division of the province does not affect rights of private property, and I think, that I am entitled to assume with confidence that any agreement that either of these states has made with the Provincial Government as to the sharing of water from these canals or otherwise will be respected by whatever Government hereafter assumes jurisdiction over the headwork's concerned. I wish also to make it plain that no decision that is made by this Commission is intended to affect whatever territorial claim the State of Bahawalpur may have in respect of a number of villages lying between Sulemanke Weir and Gurka Ferry.

9. The task of delimiting a boundary in the Punjab is difficult one. The claims of the respective parties ranged over a wide field of territory, but m my judgment the truly debatable ground in the end proved to lie in and around the area between the Beas and Sutlej rivers on the one hand and the river

SIR GYRIL RADCLIFFE AAWARD

To His Excellency the Governor - General

1. I have the honour to present the decision and award of the Punjab Boundary Commission which, by virtue of section 4 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947in represented by my decision as Chairman of that Commission.

2. The Punjab Boundary Commission was constituted by the announcement of the Governor-General, dated the 30th of June 1 947. Reference No. D50/7/47R.Theinembers of the Commission there by appointed were-

Mr. Justice Din Mohammad,
Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir,
Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, and,
Mr. Justice Teja Singh.

I was subsequently appointed Chairman of this commission.

3. The terms of reference of the Commission, as set out in the announcement were as follows:-

> " The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors."

We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before the 1 5th of August.

4. After preliminary meeting, the Commission invited the submission of memorandum and representation by interested parties. Numerous memoranda and representations were received.

5. The public sittings of the Commission took Place at Lahore, and extended from Monday the 21st of July 1947, to Thursday the 31st of July 1947, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, the 27th of July. The main arguments were conducted by counsel on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League; and the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly; but a number of other interested parties appeared and argued before the Commission. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings of all material submitted for our consideration.

6. After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Simla where I joined by colleagues, and we entered upon discussion in the hope of being able to present an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the boundaries. I am greatly indebted to my colleagues for indispensable assistances in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments for different yiew3, but it became evident in the course of our discussions that divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained. I do not intend to convey by this that there were not large areas of the Punjab on the West and on the East respectively which provoked no controversy as to which State they should be assigned to; but when it came to the extensive but disputed areas in which the boundary must be drawn, differences of opinion as to the significance of the term "other factors" , which we were directed by our terms of reference to take into account, and as to the weight and value to be attached to those factors, made it impossible to arrive at any agreed line. In these circumstances my colleagues, at the close of our discussions, assented to the conclusion that I must proceed to give my own decision.

7. This I now proceed to do. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached there to, Annexure B. The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should he my divergence between the boundary as described Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B, the description Annexure A is to prevail.

8. Certain representations were addressed to the Commission on behalf of the States of Bikaner and Bahawalpur both of which States interested in canals whose headwork's were situated in the Punjab Province, I have taken the view that an interest of this sort cannot weigh directly in the question before us as to the division of the Punjab between the Indian Union and Pakistan since the territorial division of the province does not affect rights of private property, and I think, that I am entitled to assume with confidence that any agreement that either of these states has made with the Provincial Government as to the sharing of water from these canals or otherwise will be respected by whatever Government hereafter assumes jurisdiction over the headwork's concerned. I wish also to make it plain that no decision that is made by this Commission is intended to affect whatever territorial claim the State of Bahawalpur may have in respect of a number of villages lying between Sulemanke Weir and Gurka Ferry.

9. The task of delimiting a boundary in the Punjab is difficult one. The claims of the respective parties ranged over a wide field of territory, but m my judgment the truly debatable ground in the end proved to lie in and around the area between the Beas and Sutlej rivers on the one hand and the river

Ravi on the other. The fixing of a boundary in this area was further complicated by the existence of canal systems, so vital to the life of the Punjab but developed only under the conception of a single administration, and of systems of road and rail communication, which have been planned in the same way. There was also the stubborn geographical fact of the respective situations of Lahore and Amritsar, and the claims to each or both of the best of my ability such other factors as appeared to me relevant as affecting the fundamental basis of contiguous majority areas, I have come to the decision set out in the Schedule which thus becomes the award of the Commission. I am conscious that there are legitimate criticism to be made of it; as there are, I think, or any other line that might be chosen.

10. I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas East of the Sutlej river and in the angle of the Beas and the Sutlej Rivers iii Muslim majorities are foimd. But on the whole I have come to ftm conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the West Punjab to a strip on the fir $ide of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway conmiunications and water systems that ought m this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities. But I must call attention to the fact that the Depalpur Canal; which serves areas in the West Punjab, takes off from the Ferozepore headworks and I fmd it difficult to envisage a satisfactory demarcation of boundary at this point that is not accompanied by some arrangement for joint control of the intake of the different canals dependent on the$e liSsiiew^r

11. I faave nat &upd i^lm of iieUpper Bail IJ^b Oitnil, i^ib extends fixnn in the Pathankot Tehsil to the Western border of the district of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of the Lahore - Amritsar severance; nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi Hydro- electric Scheme which supplies power ^ te^lte^^stricts of Kangra, Jtorilsar, Ijttcm ^tillsiiir^ Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Sheikhupura and Lyallpun I think it only right to express the hope that, where the drawing of a boundary line cannot amM ^Sstvtp^g mth tnriit^y m^is^ as M^ffS^km^ rtMrnsys^ and electric power transmission, a solution may be found by agreement between the two States for some joint control of what has hitherto be^ a valuaMe cc^i^ service.

12. I am conscious too that the award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side but directly in conflict as to Itefrfeearing on the placing of the boundary. If means to be found to gratify to the full these sentiments and aspirations, I think Html they must be found in political arrangements I m and notinthe decision of a boundary New Delhi,

the IMiA^piS^, 1947. ^ (TiMMf^OmMm

The Schedule.

1, The boundary between the East and West Punjab shall isdiidieiifi^^G^^ bftheUjb river enters the Punjab Provinces from the State of Kashmir.The Boundary shall follow the line of that river down the Western boundary of tfie ftriSiankot Tehsfl to thte? pbiftt vrffiere the Pathankot, Shakargarh and Gurdaspur tehsils meet. The tehsil boundary and not the actual course of the Ujh river shall constitute the boundary between ^e and West Punjab.

2. From the point of meetingoftlje three tehsils above mentined, the boundary (Une) between the Ea^Blid West Punjab shall follow the iiiie "of the Ujh river to its junction with the river Ravi and thereafter the line of the river Ravi along the boundary between the tehsils of Gurdaspur and Sbakaigaih^ the boundsuy l^twera tfa^ of Batala J30 He SilAs^«iidTiaiisfi» Qf and Narowal, the boundary between the tehsils of Ajnala and Narowal, and the boundary between the tehsils of Ajnala and Shadara, to the point on the river Ravi where the district of Amritsar is divided from the district of Lahore. The tehsil boundries referred to, and actual course of the river Ujh or the river Ravi, shsJl constitute the bouiidary between the East and West Punjab.

3 . From the point on the river Ravi where the district is divided from the district of Lahore, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall turn southwards following the boundary between the te^ls Aj^ate^ t^ali^re^ a^^^ thai tfie tehsils of T^l^mm Lahore, to the point where the tehsils of Kasur, Lahore and Tarn Taran meet. The line will then turn south-westward along the boundary between the fehsUs of Lahore and Kisw # tike p#lini wiime boundary meets the north-east comer of village Theh Jharolian. It will then run along the eastern boundary of that village to its junction wifli village CSiathiahi;^; fil^ Ittid then run down its eastern boundary to its junction with village Waigal. It will then run along the eastern boundary of village Waigal to its junction with village Kalia, and then along the sotrttoi fe^wfifidairy of village Waigal to its junction with village Panjuwan, The line will th^en iiin down the eastern boundary of village Panjuwan to its junction within village Gaddoke, Tlie linewiB then run down the eastern border of village Gaddoke to its junction with village Nurwala. It will then turn along the southern boundary of village Gaddoke to jfe junctiPli with Village Katluni Kalan. The line will then run down tie ea^wn boundary of village Katluni Kalan to its junction with village Kals and Mastgarh. It will then run along the southern boundary of village Katluni Kalan to the north-west comer of village Kals. It will then run along the Western boundary of village

JOIN ME FOR EASY ACCESS TO EBOOKS & NOTES
+92-310-5454503
CSS Aspirants ebooks & Notes
CSS Aspirants Forum
Rules of the group.
*No irrelevant text/pic Islamic pic/videos
*No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked
*Personal text w/o Mutual consent Consider harassment.
Separate Group For Females with verfication
The CSS Group does not hold any rights on shared the Books & Notes
I,m not Responsible for Copyrights.
This book/notes downloaded from the internet.

Ravi on the other. The fixing of a boundary in this area was further complicated by the existence of canal systems, so vital to the life of the Punjab but developed only under the conception of a single administration, and of systems of road and rail communication, which have been planned in the same way. There was also the stubborn geographical fact of the respective situations of Lahore and Amritsar, and the claims to each or both of the best of my ability such other factors as appeared to me relevant as affecting the fundamental basis of contiguous majority areas, I have come to the decision set out in the Schedule which thus becomes the award of the Commission. I am conscious that there are legitimate criticism to be made of it; as there are, I think, or any other line that might be chosen.

10. I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas East of the Sutlej river and in the angle of the Beas and the Sutlej Rivers iii Muslim majorities are foimd. But on the whole I have come to ftm conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the West Punjab to a strip on the fir $ide of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway conmiunications and water systems that ought m this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities. But I must call attention to the fact that the Depalpur Canal; which serves areas in the West Punjab, takes off from the Ferozepore headworks and I fmd it difficult to envisage a satisfactory demarcation of boundary at this point that is not accompanied by some arrangement for joint control of the intake of the different canals dependent on the$e liSsiiew^r

11. I faave nat &upd i^lm of iieUpper Bail IJ^b Oitnil, i^ib extends fixnn in the Pathankot Tehsil to the Western border of the district of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of the Lahore - Amritsar severance; nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi Hydro- electric Scheme which supplies power ^ te^lte^^stricts of Kangra, Jtorilsar, Ijttcm ^tillsiiir^ Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Sheikhupura and Lyallpun I think it only right to express the hope that, where the drawing of a boundary line cannot amM ^Sstvtp^g mth tnriit^y m^is^ as M^ffS^km^ rtMrnsys^ and electric power transmission, a solution may be found by agreement between the two States for some joint control of what has hitherto be^ a valuaMe cc^i^ service.

12. I am conscious too that the award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side but directly in conflict as to Itefrfeearing on the placing of the boundary. If means to be found to gratify to the full these sentiments and aspirations, I think Html they must be found in political arrangements I m and notinthe decision of a boundary New Delhi, the IMiA^piS^, 1947. ^ (TiMMf^OmMm

The Schedule.

1, The boundary between the East and West Punjab shall isdiidieiifi^^G^^ bftheUjb river enters the Punjab Provinces from the State of Kashmir.The Boundary shall follow the line of that river down the Western boundary of tfie ftriSiankot Tehsfl to thte? pbiftt vrffiere the Pathankot, Shakargarh and Gurdaspur tehsils meet. The tehsil boundary and not the actual course of the Ujh river shall constitute the boundary between ^e and West Punjab.

2. From the point of meetingoftlje three tehsils above mentined, the boundary (Une) between the Ea^Blid West Punjab shall follow the iiiie "of the Ujh river to its junction with the river Ravi and thereafter the line of the river Ravi along the boundary between the tehsils of Gurdaspur and Sbakaigaih^ the boundsuy l^twera tfa^ of Batala J30 He SilAs^«iidTiaiisfi» Qf and Narowal, the boundary between the tehsils of Ajnala and Narowal, and the boundary between the tehsils of Ajnala and Shadara, to the point on the river Ravi where the district of Amritsar is divided from the district of Lahore. The tehsil boundries referred to, and actual course of the river Ujh or the river Ravi, shsJl constitute the bouiidary between the East and West Punjab.

3 . From the point on the river Ravi where the district is divided from the district of Lahore, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall turn southwards following the boundary between the te^ls Aj^ate^ t^ali^re^ a^^^ thai tfie tehsils of T^l^mm Lahore, to the point where the tehsils of Kasur, Lahore and Tarn Taran meet. The line will then turn south-westward along the boundary between the fehsUs of Lahore and Kisw # tike p#lini wiime boundary meets the north-east comer of village Theh Jharolian. It will then run along the eastern boundary of that village to its junction wifli village CSiathiahi;^; fil^ Ittid then run down its eastern boundary to its junction with village Waigal. It will then run along the eastern boundary of village Waigal to its junction with village Kalia, and then along the sotrttoi fe^wfifidairy of village Waigal to its junction with village Panjuwan, The line will th^en iiin down the eastern boundary of village Panjuwan to its junction within village Gaddoke, Tlie linewiB then run down the eastern border of village Gaddoke to its junction with village Nurwala. It will then turn along the southern boundary of village Gaddoke to jfe junctiPli with Village Katluni Kalan. The line will then run down tie ea^wn boundary of village Katluni Kalan to its junction with village Kals and Mastgarh. It will then run along the southern boundary of village Katluni Kalan to the north-west comer of village Kals. It will then run along the Western boundary of village

Kals to its junction with village Khem Karan. The line will then run along the Western and the southem boundaries of village Khem Karan to its juncion with village Maewala. It will thiH im iicr^ tKe boundaries of vitls^e Maewala, proceeding eastward along the boundaries between village Mahaidepur on the north and village Sheikhupura Kuhna,Kamalpuran, western boundary of village Sahjra to its junction with villages Mahidepur and Machhike, It will then turn north-eastward along the along the boundary between villages Rattoke and Sahjra to the junction between villages Rattoke, Sahjra and Mabbuke. The line will then run north-east between the villages Rattoke and Mabbuke to the junction of villages Rattoke, Mabbuke and Gajjal. From that point the line will along the boundaiy between villages Mabbuke and Gajjal, and then turn south along the eastern boundary of village Mabbuke to its junction witji village Nagar Aimanpur. It will then turn along the north-eastern botiiidaiy of village Nagar Aimanpur, and run along its eastern boundary to its junction with village Masteke. From there it will run along the eastern boundary of village Masteke to where it meets the boundary between the tehsils of Kasur and Ferozepore. For the purpose of identifying the villages referred to in this paragraph, I attach a map authorised by the then Settlement Officer, Lahore District, which was supplied to the Commission by the PrdVtiicid Government.

4. The line will then run in a south-westerly direction down the Sutlej River on the boundary between the districts of Lahore and Firozpur to the point where the districts of Firozpur, Lahore and Montgomery meet. It continues along the boundary between the districts pf Ferozepur and Montgomery to the point where this bdmiifHf^ ^ Border of Mm. "Tb& 4Mxim boundaries, and not the actual course of the Sutlej River, shall in each case constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab,

5. It is my intention that this bouiidafy filMl iihmiM (^i^iir^ 4)at the canal headworks at Sulemanke will fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the West Punjab. If the existing delimitation of the boundaries of Montgomery Bi^rifet dijes not enstre ^s^ 1 iti^sp^ to the West Punjab so much of the territory concerned as coV^ ^e headworks and the boundary shall be adjusted accordingly.

6. So much of the Punjab as Iffes to the west of the line demarcated in the preceding paragraphs shall be the territory of the West Punjab. So much of the territory of the Punjab Province as lies to the east of that line shall be the territory of the East Punjab.

K.V.K.SUNDARAM,
Officer on Special Duty

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of General History
University of Karachi
0322-2391591. moiz200@vahoo.com

Kals to its junction with village Khem Karan. The line will then run along the Western and the southem boundaries of village Khem Karan to its juncion with village Maewala. It will thiH im iicr^ tKe boundaries of vitls^e Maewala, proceeding eastward along the boundaries between village Mahaidepur on the north and village Sheikhupura Kuhna,Kamalpuran, western boundary of village Sahjra to its junction with villages Mahidepur and Machhike, It will then turn north-eastward along the along the boundary between villages Rattoke and Sahjra to the junction between villages Rattoke, Sahjra and Mabbuke. The line will then run north-east between the villages Rattoke and Mabbuke to the junction of villages Rattoke, Mabbuke and Gajjal. From that point the line will along the boundaiy between villages Mabbuke and Gajjal, and then turn south along the eastern boundary of village Mabbuke to its junction witji village Nagar Aimanpur. It will then turn along the north-eastern botiiidaiy of village Nagar Aimanpur, and run along its eastern boundary to its junction with village Masteke. From there it will run along the eastern boundary of village Masteke to where it meets the boundary between the tehsils of Kasur and Ferozepore. For the purpose of identifying the villages referred to in this paragraph, I attach a map authorised by the then Settlement Officer, Lahore District, which was supplied to the Commission by the PrdVtiicid Government.

4. The line will then run in a south-westerly direction down the Sutlej River on the boundary between the districts of Lahore and Firozpur to the point where the districts of Firozpur, Lahore and Montgomery meet. It continues along the boundary between the districts pf Ferozepur and Montgomery to the point where this bdmiifHf^ ^ Border of Mm. "Tb& 4Mxim boundaries, and not the actual course of the Sutlej River, shall in each case constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab,

5. It is my intention that this bouiidafy filMl iihmiM (^i^iir^ 4)at the canal headworks at Sulemanke will fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the West Punjab. If the existing delimitation of the boundaries of Montgomery Bi^rifet dijes not enstre ^s^ 1 iti^sp^ to the West Punjab so much of the territory concerned as coV^ ^e headworks and the boundary shall be adjusted accordingly.

6. So much of the Punjab as Iffes to the west of the line demarcated in the preceding paragraphs shall be the territory of the West Punjab. So much of the territory of the Punjab Province as lies to the east of that line shall be the territory of the East Punjab.

K.V.K.SUNDARAM,
Officer on Special Duty

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of General History
University of Karachi
0322-2391591. moiz200@vahoo.com

Different movements:

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. Swadeshi Movement:

In this movement Congress asked their fellow Indians Boycott all the British goods and buy only Indian products. This movement was launched during the protests for reversal of Partition of Bengal by Congress. Its aim was to frustrate British financially and to make them except Congress demand regarding the partition.

2. Civil Disobedience Movement:

This movement is about not following the laws of the country and not paying taxes and bills to government. This movement has been used many times by Congress and Gandhi against British.

3. Non-Cooperation Movement:

In this movement the participants do not cooperate with the government regarding their duties and create problems for them. Congress used this movement at different occasions however it became famous during Khilafat Movement.

4. Sawraj:

It means self-rule. It was demanded by Congress and later by Muslim League.

5. Satyagraha:

It is Hindi word which means "truth-force". There were many angles to this idea and movement. Through this Gandhi wanted to cultivate the ideas of non-violence and simple living into the hearts of common Indians. It was also considered as a new method of fighting against British colonialism

Different movements:

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. Swadeshi Movement:

In this movement Congress asked their fellow Indians Boycott all the British goods and buy only Indian products. This movement was launched during the protests for reversal of Partition of Bengal by Congress. Its aim was to frustrate British financially and to make them except Congress demand regarding the partition.

2. Civil Disobedience Movement:

This movement is about not following the laws of the country and not paying taxes and bills to government. This movement has been used many times by Congress and Gandhi against British.

3. Non-Cooperation Movement:

In this movement the participants do not cooperate with the government regarding their duties and create problems for them. Congress used this movement at different occasions however it became famous during Khilafat Movement.

4. Sawraj:

It means self-rule. It was demanded by Congress and later by Muslim League.

5. Satyagraha:

It is Hindi word which means "truth-force". There were many angles to this idea and movement. Through this Gandhi wanted to cultivate the ideas of non-violence and simple living into the hearts of common Indians. It was also considered as a new method of fighting against British colonialism

Different movements:

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. Swadeshi Movement:

In this movement Congress asked their fellow Indians Boycott all the British goods and buy only Indian products. This movement was launched during the protests for reversal of Partition of Bengal by Congress. Its aim was to frustrate British financially and to make them except Congress demand regarding the partition.

2. Civil Disobedience Movement:

This movement is about not following the laws of the country and not paying taxes and bills to government. This movement has been used many times by Congress and Gandhi against British.

3. Non-Cooperation Movement:

In this movement the participants do not cooperate with the government regarding their duties and create problems for them. Congress used this movement at different occasions however it became famous during Khilafat Movement.

4. Sawraj:

It means self-rule. It was demanded by Congress and later by Muslim League.

5. Satyagraha:

It is Hindi word which means "truth-force". There were many angles to this idea and movement. Through this Gandhi wanted to cultivate the ideas of non-violence and simple living into the hearts of common Indians. It was also considered as a new method of fighting against British colonialism

Allama Iqbal. born (November 9, 1877 Sialkot – death Lahore April 21, 1938)

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali. Born in Balachaur in Hoshiarp District of Punjab (November 16, 1897-February3, 1951

Jawaharlal Nehru. Born Nov. 14, 1889, Allahabad, India died May 27, 1964, New Delhi. First prime minister of independent India from 1947 till 1964.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Born Oct. 2, 1869, Porbandar, India died Jan. 30, 1948, Delhi. Came to India in 1914.

Muhammad Ali Jauhar

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Born Dec. 25, 1876, Karachi, India [now in Pakistan] died Sept. 11, 1948, Karachi

Shuakat Ali Jauhar

Sir Agha Khan III Also known as Sultan Sir Mohammed Shah was born November 2, 1877, Karachi, India and died in July 11, 1957, Versoix, Switzerland. He became the Imam in 1885 after the death of his father.

Motilal Nehru

Justice Ameer Ali

Sir Agha Khan III

Liaqaut Ali Khan

Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana

Allama Iqbal. born (November 9, 1877 Sialkot – death Lahore April 21, 1938)

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali. Born in Balachaur in Hoshiarp District of Punjab (November 16, 1897-February3, 1951

Jawaharlal Nehru. Born Nov. 14, 1889, Allahabad, India died May 27, 1964, New Delhi. First prime minister of independent India from 1947 till 1964.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Born Oct. 2, 1869, Porbandar, India died Jan. 30, 1948, Delhi. Came to India in 1914.

Muhammad Ali Jauhar

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Born Dec. 25, 1876, Karachi, India [now in Pakistan] died Sept. 11, 1948, Karachi

Shuakat Ali Jauhar

Sir Agha Khan III Also known as Sultan Sir Mohammed Shah was born November 2, 1877, Karachi, India and died in July 11, 1957, Versoix, Switzerland. He became the Imam in 1885 after the death of his father.

Motilal Nehru

Justice Ameer Ali

Sir Agha Khan III

Liaqaut Ali Khan

Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana

Allama Iqbal. born (November 9, 1877 Sialkot – death Lahore April 21, 1938)

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali. Born in Balachaur in Hoshiarp District of Punjab (November 16, 1897-February3, 1951

Jawaharlal Nehru. Born Nov. 14, 1889, Allahabad, India died May 27, 1964, New Delhi. First prime minister of independent India from 1947 till 1964.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Born Oct. 2, 1869, Porbandar, India died Jan. 30, 1948, Delhi. Came to India in 1914.

Muhammad Ali Jauhar

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Born Dec. 25, 1876, Karachi, India [now in Pakistan] died Sept. 11, 1948, Karachi

Shuakat Ali Jauhar

Sir Agha Khan III Also known as Sultan Sir Mohammed Shah was born November 2, 1877, Karachi, India and died in July 11, 1957, Versoix, Switzerland. He became the Imam in 1885 after the death of his father.

Motilal Nehru

Justice Ameer Ali

Sir Agha Khan III

Liaqaut Ali Khan

Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana

Allama Iqbal. born (November 9, 1877 Sialkot – death Lahore April 21, 1938)

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali. Born in Balachaur in Hoshiarp District of Punjab (November 16, 1897-February3, 1951

Jawaharlal Nehru. Born Nov. 14, 1889, Allahabad, India died May 27, 1964, New Delhi. First prime minister of independent India from 1947 till 1964.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Born Oct. 2, 1869, Porbandar, India died Jan. 30, 1948, Delhi. Came to India in 1914.

Muhammad Ali Jauhar

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Born Dec. 25, 1876, Karachi, India [now in Pakistan] died Sept. 11, 1948, Karachi

Shuakat Ali Jauhar

Sir Agha Khan III Also known as Sultan Sir Mohammed Shah was born November 2, 1877, Karachi, India and died in July 11, 1957, Versoix, Switzerland. He became the Imam in 1885 after the death of his father.

Motilal Nehru

Justice Ameer Ali

Sir Agha Khan III

Liaqaut Ali Khan

Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana

Sir Shafi

Khan Sahab, Dr.

Sikandar Hayat Khan

Gangadhar Tilak

Sarojni Naido

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Part II

1947 till Now

Chapter 1: Frist eleven Year, 1947-1958

- 1.1 Early Problems faced by Pakistan, caused by India
  - 1.1.1 Financial Assets
  - 1.1.2 Refugee Problem
  - 1.1.3 Military Assets
  - 1.1.4 Accession of Independent states
    - 1.1.4.1 Kashmir
    - 1.1.4.2 Junagarh
    - 1.1.4.2 Hyderabad Deccan
  - 1.1.5 Canal Water Dispute
- 1.2 Early problems due to internal issues, which still exists

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Source: G. Allana, Pakistan Movement Historical Documents (Karachi: Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, nd [1969]), pp. 407-411. Paragraph numbers in double brackets have been added by FWP for classroom use; punctuation has been slightly adjusted for clarity. Editorial comments in square brackets have been added by FWP.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah's first Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (August 11, 1947)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

[[1]] I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me -- the greatest honour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer -- by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and [thank them for] their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regard to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

[[2]] Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasize is this: remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body and you have got all the powers. It therefore places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

[[3]] The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering -- I do not say that other countries are free from it, but I think our condition is much worse -- is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand, and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

[[4]] Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed, or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster, which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black-marketeers are really knowing, intelligent, and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

[[5]] The next thing that strikes me is this: Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil -- the evil of nepotism and jobbery. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery [=corrupt employment practices], nepotism, or any any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Whenever I will find that such a practice is in vogue or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

[[6]] I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it; but in my judgement there was no other solution, and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more, it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a united India could never have worked, and in my judgement it would have led us to terrific disaster. Maybe that view is correct; maybe it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste, or creed, is first, second, and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

[[7]] I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit, and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community -- because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khatris, also Bengalees, Madrasis and so on -- will vanish. Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence, and but for this we would have been free people long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls, in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time, but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed -- that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one State. The people of England in [the] course of time had to face the realities of the situation, and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country; and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain, and they are all members of the Nation.

[[8]] Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

[[9]] Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time; and thank you again for the honour you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will; in other words, partiality or favouritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.

[[10]] I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads:

I have the honour to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States:

On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to the members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake.

Early Problems Faced by Pakistan

Pakistan when came into being faced many problems. First of all it was a country which was based over an Ideology. Secondly the country from which Pakistan was made did not want Pakistan to remain independent. Then finally no other country wanted Pakistan to be made although other than Afghanistan every other country accepted Pakistan in United Nations.

The government of Pakistan had a mammoth task of making Pakistan acceptable in the world and to survive against all odds. Some early problem which Pakistan faced in its early years of Independence is as under:-

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. Financial Assets:

Pakistan was allotted 750 million Rs. according to partition plan. India as a first installment paid 200 million Rs. Then India refused to pay the further 550 million Rs. to Pakistan. The case then was taken up by Gandhi who pressed on the fact that although Congress has always worked against the creation of Pakistan but now Pakistan has become a reality so we should accept it and pay the due share to Pakistan. He went on a hunger strike for the right of Pakistan to get money. As a result the Government of India paid another 500 million Rs. to Pakistan. India has not paid the remaining 50 million Rs. to Pakistan.

2. Refugee problem:

The roots of refugee problem can be found in the 3rd June plan. In this plan the last Viceroy to India Lord Mount Batten lessened the time allowed by Lord Attlee (the prime Minster of England) by almost a year. Lord Attlee said in his speech in House of Commons the British will leave India by June 1948 and in 3rd June plan the Viceroy declared that partition would take place on 15 August, 1947.This proves that the Viceroy totally ignored the Communal tension and the dispute over land distribution between Muslim League and Congress.

The main cause of the refugee problem was Radcliff Awards. It was decided that Pakistan would get Sind, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P, East Bengal and West Punjab. Muslims had full majority in all provinces other than Punjab and Bengal where they had more than

50% population but there were other communities as well. According to the original plan it was decided that the provinces of Punjab and Bengal would be divided according to the population distribution. Means the area which have Muslim majority would be given to Pakistan and the areas which have non-Muslim majority would be given to India.

The people living in Punjab were sure that their area would be included in Pakistan, so they did not try to migrate before 14th August. The problem started when on 16th August Radcliff Awards were announced. According to it many districts of Punjab which had Muslim majority, like, Gurdaspur, Firozpur, Amritsar etc, were included in Indian territories. When Muslims of these areas came to know about this foul play by the Viceroy they left everything in India and tried to reach Pakistan. Many of them were killed on the way and those who reached Pakistan had no belongings.

To counter the problem Jinnah set up a "Quaid-e-Azam Refugee relief fund" and asked people to donate money in the fund to help the refugees. Then he moved his headquarters from Karachi to Lahore for some time to counter the problem and have a close eye on the relief work.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

3. Military assets:

All army officers were given the choice to join any country after the Independence. Other physical assets were to be divided according to 5/17 ratio between Pakistan and India.

The only problem which Pakistan faced was that there were 16 ordnance factories in undivided India unfortunately for Pakistan all of them were located in divided India. So India agreed to set up an ordinance factory in Pakistan. Wah ordinance factory was established with the help of India.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

4. Accession of Independent states

There were 562 independent states in Sub-continent at the time of partition. British gave two choices to them, i) either to remain independent or ii) to join any country they would like to. Out of these 562 independent states only 14 were within the boundaries of Pakistan. The problem of accession was with only 3 of them namely Kashmir, Junagarh and Hyderabad Deccan.

Kashmir, Dir, Sawat, Lasbelah, Bhawalpur, Khairpur, Kalat,

i. Kashmir:

Kashmir was sold to the Dogra family by British in middle of the 19th century. Since then they were ruling over it. The majority of its population, which was Muslim, was not satisfied with their rulers. At the time of Independence Kashmir had the status of Independent state, which had the right to accede to any country. The ruler of Kashmir at the time Hari Singh Dogra wanted to accede to India, but the 75% Muslim population wanted to accede to Pakistan.

The clash between the ruler and the ruled resulted in violence. Hari Singh ordered the killing of anyone who was against him. In this situation Muslims living in Pakistan on the bordering areas of Kashmir attacked Kashmir to save their fellow Muslims. Hari Singh in reply asked for the help from India. Lord Mount Batten was the Governor General of India at the time; he immediately sent Indian troops into Kashmir. Indian army stopped the advances of liberation army. Since that day Indian army has occupied Kashmir and refuse to leave and claim that Kashmir is part of India.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

ii. Junagarh:

It is a maritime state which does not have a land link with Pakistan. It can be reached from Pakistan through sea. The majority of the population in the state was Hindu but the ruler was Muslim who wanted to accede to Pakistan. Indian government wanted it to accede to India. Due to this tussle the ruler and the population was in dilemma of either joining any country or to remain independent. Finally a large force of liberation army entered into the borders of Junagarh and forcefully took it from the ruler.

iii. Hyderabad Deccan:

The case of Hyderabad was like Junagarh. The population was Hindu majority but the ruler was Muslim. However there was a difference in the location of this area. Hyderabad is situated in the South of India and it is surrounded by Indian Territory from all sides. The ruler although wanted to join Pakistan initially but realizing the geographical handicap he decided to remain independent. The Government of India cannot allow the most powerful and the richest independent state to remain independent. Indian forces also entered into Hyderabad and took the area by force.

5 Canal Water dispute:

Pakistan is an agricultural economy. Still today Pakistan earns most of it foreign exchange through agro based industry and exports. For agriculture and second most important element after land is water. Fortunately Pakistan is blessed with every efficient river system. Without rivers Pakistan could not progress in any field.

India took advantage of this weakness of Pakistan immediately after independence. The five major rivers which bring water into Pakistan have their headwork in Kashmir and India. Indus, Jhelum and Chenab have their sources in Kashmir and Ravi, Sutlej and Beas have their source in Northern India. India stopped the water of these rivers. Pakistan objected on it. India said these rivers start from Indian Territory that's why we have the right to use their water.

Pakistan argued that these rivers should be allowed to flow on their natural course which means allowing them to flow through Pakistan. However the dispute took more than 12 years to be solved. It was finally resolved in 1960 that the three Eastern Rivers Indus, Jhelum and Chenab would be given to Pakistan and Ravi, Sutlej and Beas would go to India. World Bank played the role of arbitrator in this treaty and it is known as Indus Basin Treaty.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

The politics of Pakistan from 1947 till 1958:

Pakistan after coming into being went through a very ruthless phase of political chaos. After the death of Jinnah there was a vacuum of leadership, although Rana Liaquat Ali Khan was the best person to lead the party and the country however there were many opportunists who were waiting for any loop hole to take advantage of it in their own favor. It was clear that there was a lack to capable politicians to take control of all important portfolios of Government. Due to this paucity the Prime Minister had to rely on bureaucrats to fill the slots. In the early governments the administration relied heavily on bureaucrats and that became a weakness of politicians and strength of civil servants.

Liaquat Ali Khan governed the government to best of his abilities from 1947 till his death in assassination on 16th October 1951. During these four years we do not find any evidences that he worked for his own selfish goals and did not give his 100% to his beloved country. After his sad demise again there was a split between the leadership of Muslim League that who should govern the country. Finally the finance minister Mlik Ghulam Muhammad convinced Governor General Khawaja Nazim ud Din to step down from his post and to take up the post of Prime Minister because the work started by Rana Liaquat can be best continued by the Khawaja Nazim because of his close working relations with the former Prime Minister.

Malik Ghulam Muhammad was a bureaucrat and did not have his roots in people and therefore did care about the will of people. He later fully utilized powers vested in the office of Governor General. He dismissed Khawaja Nazim Uddin in 1953 and later dismissed a Constituent Assembly in 1954. He brought Muhammad Ali Bogra as Prime Minister in place of Khawaja Nazim, who was another bureaucrat. So after 1953 both major governing offices were occupied by bureaucrats without the process of elections.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Rise of Bureaucracy and destruction of democracy in Pakistan;

At the time of independacne Pakistan lacked people of talent and skills who could take care of the affairs of the state. The ability of Politicians to take control of all state affairs during initial years was compromised by the frictions between them and their ambitions. There was a difference between bureacrates and politicians of that time. When Pakistan became independent both bureacrats and politicians were trained and worked in united India of preindependance. Bureaucrats …………..

This is a historic speech and a document that posterity will re-examine because of its ever increasing influence on the amalgamation of religion and politics in Pakistan. Seldom has one piece of legislation caused so much trepidation. Here is the text of the address of Sri Chandra Chattopadhyay in Pakistan's first Constitutent Assembly on 12 March 1949.

Mr. Sris Chandra Chattopadhya (East Bengal : General) : Mr. President, I thought, after my colleague, Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Datta, had spoken on the two amendments on behalf of the Congress Party, I would not take any part in this discussion. He appealed, he reasoned and made the Congress position fully clear, but after I heard some of the speakers from the majority party, viz, Muslim League Party, the manner in which they had interpreted the Resolution, it became incumbent on me to take part in this discussion.

I have heard Dr. Malik and appreciate his standpoint. He says that "we got Pakistan for establishing a Muslim State, and the Muslims suffered for it and therefore it was not desireable that anybody should speak against it". I quite agree with him. He said; "If we establish a Muslim State and even if we become reactionaries, who are you to say anything against it?" That is a standpoint which I understand, but here there is some difficulty. We also, on this side, fought for the independence of the country. We worked for the independence of the entire country. When our erstwhile masters, Britishers, were practically in the mood of going away, the country was divided – one part became Pakistan and the other remained India. If in the Pakistan State there would have been only Muslims, the question would have been different. But there are some non-muslims also in Pakistan. When they wanted a division there was no talk of an exchange of population. If there was an exchange of population, there would have been an end of the matter, and Dr. Malik could establish his Pakistan in his own way and frame constitution accordingly. It is also true that the part of Pakistan in which Dr. Malik lives is denuded of non-Muslims. That is clear.

Dr. Omar Hayat Malik: On a point of order, Sir, I never said that. He has understood me quite wrongly.

Mr. Omar Hayat Malik: I never said that Pakistan was denuded of non-Muslims. My friend on the opposite has misunderstood me.

Mr. Sris Chandra Chattopadhya: I say the part in which Dr. Malik lives is denuded of non-Muslims. I did not say that Dr. Malik had said that Pakistan was denuded of non-Muslims. That is clear.

But we belong to East Bengal. One-fourth of the population is still non-Muslim. Therefore, what constitution is to be framed, it is our duty, it is in our interest to look to. We are not going to leave East Bengal. It is our homeland. It is not a land by our adoption. My forefather, founder of my family, came to East Bengal thousand years back on the invitation of the then King of Bengal. I am 27th in decent from him. Therefore, East Bengal is my land. I claim that East Bengal and Eastern Pakistan belongs to me as well as to any Mussalman and it will be my duty to make Pakistan a great, prosperous and powerful State so that it may get a proper place in the comity of nations because I call myself a Pakistani. I wish that Pakistan must be a great State. That will be covetable to Muslims as well as to non-Muslims who are living in East Bengal. A few people from East Bengal have left – may be five per cent and my calculation is not even that. Of course, there are other calculations too – somebody says ten lakhs. We are living in East Bengal peacefully, in peace and amity with out Muslim neighbours as we had been living from generations to generations. Therefore, I am anxious to see that its constitution is framed in such a way which may suit the Muslims as well as the non-Muslims. I have gone carefully through this Resolution and I have carefully, read made-to-order, nicely-worded statement of my esteemed friend, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. But after reading the Resolution carefully and reading the statement, even after hearing the speeches of my friends, both the Doctors and others, I cannot change my opinion. I cannot persuade myself to accept this Resolution and my instruction to my party would be to oppose this Resolution.

Now as for the first paragraph:

"Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust".

This part of the Resolution, I think, ought to be deleted. All powers, in my opinion, rest with the people and they exercise their power through the agency of the State. State is merely their spokesman. The Resolution makes the State the sole authority received from God Almighty through the instrumentality of people – Nemittamatrona, "Merely instruments of the State". People have no power or authority, they are merely post boxes according to this Resolution. The State will exercise authority within the limits prescribed by Him (God). What are those limits, who will interpret them? Dr. Qureshi or my respected Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Osmani? In case of difference, who will interpret? Surely they are not the people. One day a Louis XIV may come and say "I am the State, anointed by the Almighty" thus paving the way for advent Divine Right of Kings of afresh. Instead of State being the voice of the people, it has been made an adjunct of religion. To me voice of people is the voice of God, "Jatra jiba tatra shiva." The people are the manifestation of God.

In my conception of State where people of different religion live there is no place for religion in the State. Its position must be neutral: no bias for any religion. If necessary, it should help all the religions equally. No question of concession or tolerance to any religion. It smacks of inferiority complex. The State must respect all religions: no smiling face for one and askance look to the other. The state religion is a dangerous principle. Previous instances are sufficient to warn us not to repeat the blunder. We know people were burnt alive in the name of religion. Therefore, my conception is that the sovereignty must rest with the people and not with any body else.

Then about the Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan. This Constituent Assembly was created by a Statute – Indian Independence Act – allotting one member for ten lakhs of people to be elected by the members of the Provincial Assemblies. The members were not elected by the people themselves. They are for the purpose of framing a constitution. They have the legal right to do so but they cannot say that they are the representatives of the people. They are merely a Statutory Body.

Then I come to the fourth paragraph:

"Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed."

Of course, they are beautiful words: Democracy, freedom, equality, everything. Now about this portion I had some discussion with some Maulanas from the Punjab. What they told me must be from their religious books. I shall repeat here. If I commit blunder, I wish to be corrected.

In this connection you say "equal rights", but at the same time with limitations as enunciated by Islam. Is there any equal right in an Islamic country? Was there any .... An Honourable Member: "There was in Islamic countries." .... It was not between Muslims and non-Muslims. We are now divided into Congress Party and Muslim League Party here for farming constitution and suppose after framing of this constitution we face election, and parties are formed on different alignment, there may not be Congress, there may not be Muslim League, because the Congress has fulfilled its mission of attaining independence and Muslim League has also got Pakistan. There may be parties of haves and have-nots – and they are bound to be – and have-nots party may have a leader coming form non-Muslims. Will he be allowed to be the head of the administration of a Muslim State? It is not a fact that a non-Muslim cannot be head of the administration in a Muslim State. I discussed this question and I was told that he could not be allowed to be the head of the administration of a Muslim State. Then what is the use of all this. The question is whether there can be Juma Namaz in a country with a non-Muslim as its head, I am told that a country where a non-Muslim is the Head of the administration – as was in India, the Britishers were the head of the administration – according to the interpretations of Muslim rules, and I do not know much of them Muslims cannot say their Juma Namaz. As an instance, I cite a case and I think, the Honourable President also knows about it – in the District of Faridpur, Dudu Mea's party. They do not say Juma Namaz. His grandson, Pir Badshah Mia, told me that "in a country where the head is a non-Muslim, there cannot be Juma Namaz." Therefore, the words "equal rights as enunciated by Islam" are – I do not use any other word – a camouflage. It is only a hoax to us, the non-Muslims. There cannot be equal rights as enunciated by Islam. If the State is formed without any mandate of the religion, anybody whether Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist who can get votes can become its head, as such there would be difficulty if a portion of a book – it is not MY BOOK, it is not a Congress book, it is a Jamat-I-Islam publication from Lahore and it was handed over to me. I read a few lines from this book – Page 20.

"The preceding statement makes it quite clear that Islam is not democracy; for democracy is the name given to that particular form of Government in which sovereignty ultimately rests with the people in which legislation depends both in its form and content on the force and direction of public opinion and laws are modified and altered, to correspond to changes in that opinion. If a particular legislation is desired by the mass of people steps have to be taken to place it on the Statute Book if the people dislike any law and demand its removal, it is forthwith expunged and ceases to have any validity. There is no such thing in Islam which, therefore, cannot be called democracy in this sense of the term".

My friend, the Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, the other day said 'What is in the name'? I also say, what is in the name? Name may be given to mislead people but it will smell theocracy.

The Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar (West Punjab: Muslim): Do you know what treatment was meted out to this man by the Government? He is in jail.

Mr Sris Chandra Chattopadhya: That is a different matter. Further he goes on:

"A more apt name for it would be the Kingdom of God which is described in English as "theocracy".

I do not know much of your theocracy or Sunna. But he told me many things about Islam.

And then you will also find this:

"No law can be changed unless the injunction is to be found in God's shariat. Laws are changed by the concensus of opinion amongst the Muslims."

So, if any law is to be changed, it is to be changed by the vote of the Muslims only. Where are we then? We are not Muslims. There are, I find, many safeguards in the Resolution. I do not attach much importance to them. Words are there but there is no law which will allow them to be put into practice. That is the limitation. If the non-Muslims cannot vote, then what is the good of our coming here for farming the constitution? Even if we have the right to vote for a legislation but if some non-Muslim wants to be the President of the State, he will not be able to do so. If we want to elect somebody who is a non-Muslim, he cannot be elected by us to be a member of the legislature. We may vote, but we can vote for Mr Nishtar only and not for Mr Chandra Chattopadhya, who is a non-Muslim. I know you can pass this Resolution because you are in the majority and I know the tyranny of the majority. But we cannot be a consenting party to it; we must oppose it in order to safeguard our interests and not to commit suicide by accepting this Resolution. If that is so, what is the position of non-Muslims in a Muslim State? They will play the part of the second fiddle – the drawers of water and hewers of wood. Can you expect any self-respecting man will accept that position and remain contented? If the present Resolution is adopted, the non-Muslims will be reduced to that condition excepting what they may get out of concession or pity from their superior neighbours. Is it equality of rights? Is it wrong if we say that the non-Muslims will be in the position of Plebeians? There may not be patricians and plebeians in the Muslim community, but the question is between the Muslims and non-Muslims.

That much about this Resolution. Now, Dr Qureshi has attributed fear complex to the non-Muslims and has found a new dictum of behaviour for the minority. He has given a warning to the non-Muslims and has asked them to discard fear and behave well. What does our conduct show? We are not afraid of anybody. We, the Congress people, were not afraid of any or any power. We are still living in Eastern Pakistan and we are not running away. We are telling our brothers not to leave Eastern Pakistan and not to give up one inch of land. The position in the Western Pakistan is different. There the non-Muslims have left. But we are determined to stay on. As for behaviour it depends upon the majority community by their behaviour to get the confidence of the minority people. The minority people cannot create by their conduct confidence in the majority. They majority people should behave in such a way that the minority people may not be afraid of them and may not suspect them.

Dr Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi : On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I never said or implied in my speech that my friends on the opposite side were suffering from the fear of the seen. Unfortunately, they have been suffering from the fear of the unknown and my point was that the Objectives Resolution does not embody any principle which might make them afraid. I know that my friends are very brave and they would certainly not run away and I also know .. ...

Mr President : This much will do for your explanation.

Mr Sris Chandra Chattopadhya : It goes without saying that by introducing the religious question, the differences between the majority and the minority are being perpetuated, for how long, nobody knows. And, as apprehended by us, the difficulty of interpretation has already arisen. The accepted principle is that the majority, by their fair treatment, must create confidence in the minority. Whereas the Honourable Mover of the Resolution promises respect, in place of charity or sufferance for the minority community the Deputy Minister, Dr Qureshi, advises the minority to win the good-will of the majority by their behaviour. In the House of the Legislature also we find that, while the Prime Minister keeps perfectly to his dictum, others cannot brook that the Opposition should function in the spirit of opposition. The demand is that the Opposition should remain submissive. That is Dr Qureshi's way of thinking. The minorities must be grateful for all the benevolence they get and must never complain for the malevolence that may also be dealt out to them. That is his solution of the minority problem.

Dr Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi : Sir, I again rise on a point of personal explanation. I never said that. My words are being twisted. What I said was this that the best guarantee of a minority's rights is the good-will of the majority and those words cannot be twisted into the way my friend has been twisting them.

Mr Sris Chandra Chattopadhya : My esteemed friend, Mr Nishtar, speaks that there is difference of outlook between the two parties. It is true that before the division of India into two States, India and Pakistan, we opposed the division on the ground that the people of India consisted of one nation, and the Muslim League supported the division on two-nation theory, the Muslims and the non-Muslims. There was this fundamental difference in our outlook and in our angle of vision. India was divided without the division of the population. So, in both the States there are Muslims and non-Muslims – no exchange of population and even no exchange of population under contemplation. We, the non-Muslims of Pakistan, have decided to remain in Pakistan, as the loyal citizens of Pakistan. Of course, some non-Muslims from East Bengal and practically the majority of non-Muslim from West Pakistan left the place. We all ourselves the nationals of Pakistan and style ourselves as Pakistanis. But this Resolution cuts at the root of it and Mr Nishtar's speech makes it clear. We, the Congress people, still stick to our one nation theory and we believe that the people of Pakistan, Muslims and non-Muslims, consist of one nation and they are all Pakistanis. Now, if it is said that the population of Pakistan consists of two nations, the Muslims who form the majority party and the non-Muslims who form the minority party, how are they to be described? Nowhere in the world nationality is divided on the score of religion.

Even in Muslim countries there are people of different religions. They do not call themselves a majority or minority party. They call themselves as members of one nation, though professing different religions. If the Muslims call themselves Pakistanis, will the non-Muslims call themselves non-Pakistanis. What will they call themselves?

Some Honourable Members : Pakistanis.

Mr Sris Chandra Chattopadhya : Will they both call themselves Pakistanis? Then how will the people know who is Muslim and who is non-Muslim? I say, give up this division of the people into Muslims and non-Muslims and let us call ourselves one nation. Let us call ourselves one people, people of Pakistan. Otherwise, if you call me non-Muslim and call yourselves Muslim the difficulty will be if I call myself Pakistani they will say you are a Muslim. That happened when I had been to Europe. I went there as a delegate of Pakistan. When I said "I am a delegate of Pakistan" they thought I was a Muslim. They said "But you are a Muslim". I said, "No, I am a Hindu". A Hindu cannot remain in Pakistan, that was their attitude. They said: "You cannot call yourself a Pakistani". Then I explained everything and told them that there are Hindus and as well as Muslims and that we are all Pakistanis. That is the position. Therefore, what am I to call myself? I want an answer to that. I want a decision on this point from my esteemed friend, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan.

I request my Honourable friend, Mr Nishtar, to forget this outlook, this angle of vision. Let us form ourselves as members of one nation. Let us eliminate the complexes of majority and minority. Let us treat citizens of Pakistan as members of one family and frame such a constitution as may not break this tie so that all communities may stand shoulder to shoulder on equal footing in time of need and danger. I do not consider myself as a member of the minority community. I consider myself as one of seven crores of Pakistanis. Let me have to retain that privilege.

I have stated about this Resolution. Now what will be the result of this Resolution? I sadly remind myself of the great words of the Quaid-I-Azam that in state affairs the Hindus will cease to be a Hindu; the Muslim shall cease to be a Muslim. But alas, so soon after his demise what you do is that you virtually declare a State religion! You are determined to create a Herrenvolk. It was perhaps bound to be so, when unlike the Quaid-I-Azam – with whom I was privileged to be associated for a great many years in the Indian National Congress – you felt your incapacity to separate politics from religion, which the modern world so universally does. You could not get over the old world way of thinking. What I hear in this Resolution not the voice of the great creator of Pakistan – the Quaid-I-Azam (may his soul rest in peace), nor even that of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the Honourable Mr Liaquat Ali Khan but of the Ulemas of the land.

When I came back to my part of the country after several months absence in Europe, the thing that I saw there depressed me. A great change for the worse has come over the land. I noticed that change this side also. I told His Excellency Khawaja Nazimuddin of it. I told the Honourable Mr Liaquat Ali Khan about it and now that spirit of reaction has overwhelmed this House also. This Resolution in its present form epitomizes that spirit of reaction. That spirit will not remain confined to the precincts of this House. It will send its waves to the countryside as well. I am quite upset. I have been passing sleepless nights pondering what shall I now tell my people whom I have so long been advising to stick to the land of their birth? They are passing a state of uncertainty which is better seen and left than imagined from this House. The officers have opted out, the influential people have left, the economic conditions are appalling, starvation is widespread, women are going naked, people are sinking without trade, without occupation. The administration is ruthlessly reactionary, a steam-roller has been set in motion against the culture, language and script of the people. And on the top of this all, by this Resolution you condemn them to a perpetual state of inferiority. A thick curtain is drawn against all rays of hope, all prospects of an honourable life.

After this what advice shall I tender? What heart can I have to persuade the people to maintain a stout heart? But I feel it is useless bewailing before you, it is useless reasoning with you. You show yourselves incapable of humility that either victory or religion ought to generate. You then go your way, I have best wishes for you. I am an old man not very far from my eternal rest. I am capable of forgetting all injuries. I bear you no ill will. I wish you saw reason. Even as it is, may no evil come your way. May you prosper, may the newly-born State of Pakistan be great and get its proper place in the comity of nations. (Applause.)

Era of Ayub Khan 1958-1969:

Ayub Khan became first chief of army staff from Pakistan. He replaced General Douglas in 1951 when he was appointed as the Chief of Army Staff by Liaquat Ali Khan. Then he was appointed as the defense minister of Pakistan in 1953 by the Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra when there was a political crisis in the country. Since then army became a very integral part of government. The difference amongst the political leader ship further gave way to the military intervention in political matters. After the proclamation of martial law by Iskandar Mirza on 7th October 1958 Ayub Khan saw a greater role for himself and the army in politics of the country. He seized power for himself two weeks later and threw Iskander Mirza out of Government.

After assuming full power for himself he needed to legitimize his rule and stay in power. So he started the system of Basic Democracies. In first stage he divided the country into 80000 administrative units or Basic Democracies. Then he raised the number to 120000. After the elections of these basic democracies Ayub Khan took the vote of confidence from the newly elected Basic Democrats. He became second President of Pakistan in 1960. His rule over Pakistan was a long rule of 11 years. During this time he introduced many new policies which are discussed as under:

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. Early career and rise to power

Ayub Khan was born in a small village Rihana, an unknown place near Hasan Abdal in modern day KPK, Pakistan on May 14, 1907. He was born in a low income house hold and his father was a Subedar Major (a non-commissioned rank) in the British Indian army. His father from the very beginning had the desire of sending his son to a military and unlike himself, his son would become a commissioned officer. Ayub Khan received his military education from one of the best military schools Sandhurst.

He joined British Indian Army and after the independence of Pakistan became the first Muslim Pakistani Chief of Army Staff in 1951, by the hands of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. He was later given the portfolio of Defence minister by Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad in 1954.

Iskander Mirza proclaimed martial law on October 7, 1958 and appointed General Ayub Khan as the Chief Martial Law Administrator and Prime Minister. On

27th same month he ousted Iskander Mirza and took charge of the country as President and appointed General Musa as the new Chief of Army Staff.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

2. Silencing the opposition (EBDO & PODO)

The foremost thing for Ayub Khan after taking over power was to silence any potential opposition that could challenge his newly formed administration. There were only two major sections of the society who could post any kind of resistance to him, politicians and bureaucrats. Bureaucrats were tamed by introducing a law known as PODO (Public Office Disqualification Order). It described that any public servant would be discharged from service if found guilty of corruption, nepotism or abuse of power.

For politicians he made a law EBDO (Elective Body Disqualification Order) August 1959. According to which any elected office holder if found guilty would be debarred from politics till 31 December 1966. The use of this law was ruthless. Ayub EBDOed all possible political leader. Even the person who presented Lahore Resolution in 1940, A. K. Fazlul Haq.

These two laws sound appropriate, however the implementation of these laws was based upon silencing the opposition rather than achieving their actual targets.

3. Legalizing his rule (Basic Democracies)

After acquiring the rule and silencing the opposition Ayub Khan took the next logical step in terms of military takeover, legitimizing his rule. Although since independence democracy has not been able to prevail however the power struggle was in between politicians and bureaucrats, both civilians. This was the first time army has intervened directly.

Military rule is always considered as illegitimate. To have acceptability in home and in international arena Ayub Khan had to depict himself as publically accepted and elected leader. Ayub did not belong not any political party thus could not conduct democratic elections. For this purpose he chose to use indirect way of public approval.

He introduced Basic Democracies in 1960. The mandate of to be elected member was to deal with the municipal services, such as taking care of the roads, water supply, sewerage, basic health facilities, local education etc. The Basic

Democracies order was passed in 1959 and the elections were conducted in January 1960. From all over Pakistan 80000 Basic Democrats were elected. Soon after their election the purpose of the exercise was revealed by the president when they were asked in an ambiguous referendum question about the continuity of Ayub Khan's presidency. The results were, 80,000 Basic Democrats, 75,283 affirmed their support. Ayub Khan proclaimed himself as the elected president of the country.

4. **Prolonging his rule (Constitution of 1962)**
5. **Agricultural Policy (Green Revolution)**
6. **Industrial Policy (Privatization)**
7. **Foreign Policy**
8. **Decline**

Consolidating his rule and controlling opposition:

Ayub Khan after taking powers in his hands from Iskander Mirza needed to device mechanism to control opposition from two sections of the society, bureaucracy and politicians. For both of the he crafted laws which seemed need of the time for Pakistan however they were used as a political device in his hands. He put a ban on political parties arrested G. M Syed and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. In March 1959 Ayub introduced Public Office Disqualification Order (PODO)

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Constitutional reforms:

After becoming president the highest priority was given to the constitutional problem. With the proclamation of Martial Law in 1958 the constitution of 1956 was abrogated so there was a need for a new constitution. For this purpose he ordered the formation of a commission. The composition of this commission was retired chief justice of Supreme Court who would work as the chairman of this commission, two retired judges, a lawyer, a mill owner, a business man, a land lord and a member from minorities. This composition gives the hint about the final product and the intentions of Ayub Khan that what sort of government and constitution he wanted to create. There was no representation of majority of the people for example common man, laborers, farmers etc.

This commission prepared a detailed questionnaire for understanding the views of people. This questionnaire was produce in the quantity of 28000 copies. Other than this exercise the commission conducted 565 interviews of people belonging to different walks of life. Many people were apprehensive about the wishes of Ayub Khan. Finally the report of the commission came out and it met the decided fate. It was not the commission which was running the show it was Ayub Khan. The report said the government should be formed on the model of USA with directly elected President and check and balance of Legislative, Executive and Judiciary. Ayub was willing to adopt it but with his own interpretation which says that the executive should not have any checks but other two pillars needs its authentication. "Whatever the shortcomings of the commission's proposals, their chief merit was the concern for the rehabilitation of democratic process, and whatever merit the president saw in his own proposal, their main was to provide a constitutional façade for a dictatorial design".[1]

Finally the constitution came out in 1962. Some salient features of this constitution are as under;

i. The name of the country would be the Republic of Pakistan. (In the last constitution it was Islamic Republic of Pakistan)

ii. The country would be presidential form of government and president would be directly elected.

iii. All the executive authority would be exercised by President.

iv. President will select Prime Minister from the national assembly.

v. All the laws passed by the parliament will be subject to the presidential consent. If the president disagrees with any particular legislation he would send it back to the parliament. (If the parliament still does not make any changes then finally the president has the power to send parliamentarians to home by dissolving the assembly).

vi. President will appoint governors in all the provinces. These Governors were giver extra powers of dissolving the provincial assemblies on the order of the President.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Agricultural reforms:

Ayub Khan paid a lot of attention towards agricultural potential of Pakistan. He knew that it is the back bone of Pakistan and it is the only quick way to boost the economy of Pakistan. In longer run reforms in other sectors like industry and export were needed for stability.

1. He ordered the import of Highly Yielding variety of seed. Through these seeds farmers can get extra yield from the same land during the same amount of time. This way the annual produce of any particular crop can increase. The main areas in which HYVs helped were exports. The HYVs of particular crops like cotton, wheat, rice and sugarcane contributed a lot in the economy. Even today rice and cotton are the main exports of Pakistan.
2. The mechanization process also started during his rule. Through it the efficiency of work increased and finally it translated into increase in annual growth. This advancement helped in increasing the cultivatable land. Earlier agricultural activity needed lots of labor now machines can do work of many people at one time.
3. Another important aspect of agriculture is fertilizers. Chemical fertilizers are crucial for the agricultural activity of any country especially in today's world when the demand is increasing day by day and the land is continuously used. Land starts losing its fertility after some time for which some months of gap is required. However countries like Pakistan which only depend on agriculture cannot afford any break. In this situation chemical fertilizers provide strength to the land and soil. Ayub Khan imported and introduced many chemical fertilizers in Pakistan and he also supported the growth of chemical fertilizer industry.
4. He also introduced land reforms. He limited the land holding of irrigated and non-irrigated land. Through this way his target was to distribute land amongst the people of Pakistan. Theoretically this was supposed to increase the annual production of crops because large land holding means unutilized land. The big land lords may not need to cultivate all the land they have because their life style can be supported easily by much less cultivation. This unutilized land may not affect the land lord but it is bound to affect the country because the annual production cannot be maximum according to the potential of the country. By distributing it in many owners the government wanted to make sure that the land is properly used.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Industrial Reforms:

The process of industrialization started by Ayub Khan was very beneficial to the economy of Pakistan. He invited investments from across the world and convinced the local investors to invest in the country. He assured them that their investments would be safe and profitable. The industrial growth indicators during his time were favorable.

He established an oil refinery in Karachi in 1962. Oil refinery is a very important feature of industrialization. More industries means rise in the demand of electricity and the major source of electricity in Pakistan is fossil fuel. Earlier Pakistan was importing refined oil which costs much more than crude oil. In addition, by refining the crude oil many by products are also getable which are used for other purposes.

He started a very important program Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) with Iran and Turkey. This was a very important program which had the potential of pulling Pakistan out of the list of Third World Countries. This was a very well thought out plan that could benefit all the three partners. Pakistan shares 450, miles border with Iran in South West and Iran shares approximately 200 mile long border with Turkey in North West. The program suggested road and railways links from Pakistan till Turkey passing through Iran.

To promote exports he gave many incentives to exporters. He introduced a scheme called Bonus Export Scheme. Any exporter who met the targets set by the government was given extra incentives.

Although all of these reforms resulted in record high growth rate of Pakistan but created another problem. The main criticism of his industrialization policy was that it favored few big business families rather than the whole population. 22 business families controlled around 80% of all the industries of Pakistan and 60% of all the banking and insurance business. Although the growth rate of Pakistan was very high the beneficiaries of this growth and development were few and the distribution of wealth or money was vertical rather than horizontal. Secondly all of these families were located in West Pakistan.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Downfall of Ayub Khan:

The downfall of Ayub Khan was not sudden it took some years. We can say that his decline started after 1965. Pakistan entered into war with India in September the same year. This war was an adventure that the people and government of Pakistan could not afford at that time. The war lasted less than a month and went into the favor of India. Both countries signed a peace treaty with the help of Russia in Tashkent. Although Ayub Khan told the people that it was great victory of Pakistan but the reality was something else.

Ayub Khan blamed the war and the treaty on his foreign minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and asked him to leave his cabinet in July 1966. Bhutto in retaliation started his own political party Pakistan People's Party and became the center of the opposition against Ayub Khan.

The presidential elections also earned him a bad name. The presidential candidate against him was Fatima Jinnah and the people who were against him saw a savior in the form of Ms. Fatima. She also had lots of popularity and there was a chance that she could surprise every one and sweep the polls. The results showed that Ayub Khan was very popular with the people and they support him to become the president again. This result was not accepted by people. The opposition parties protested and said that Ayub Khan has used his official powers to turn the elections in his favor.

The political agitation against Ayub got strong during 1968. He was not a man who would leave the power easily or unless he tries out all the options he had. He arrested thousands of people. He also ordered the arrest of political leader ship including Bhutto. The agitation against him rather than slowing down paced up. In February 1969 he released many political prisoners and offered the opposition to reconcile the difference but it was too little too late. Finally in March 1969 he decided to leave power and step down as president. He did not go silently; he proclaimed Martial Law once again in the country and gave all the powers to the Chief of Army Staff General Yahiya Khan.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

The partition of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh 1971:

Pakistan was created on 14 August 1947 and as a new country it was a different example in front of the world. First of all it was divided into two part and these two parts were separated from each other by enemy territory. Furthermore there were many other differences between the two parts of Pakistan.

Pakistan was created on the basis of an ideology. However many scholars believe that we lost this ideology when we lost more than half of our population in 1971. There are many reasons behind the separation of East Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh. Even at the time of independence many political leaders had argued that should Bengal become a part of Pakistan or should it be made a separate Muslim country like Pakistan?
Following are some reasons behind the division of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh;

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Population distribution:

At the time of independence Pakistan had around 70 million people in both parts of the country. Out of them more than 55% were living in East Bengal. Pakistan had 5 provinces in total at that time. The remaining 45% population was living in the other four provinces. Then all the people living in Bengal were Bengalis. On the other hand the remaining population was divided into four major types of people and multiple sub groups. The first problem which arose between the people of East Bengal and other Pakistanis was on the issue of national language. Urdu was chosen as the national language and on the contrary Bengalis were asking the government to make Bengali the national language of Pakistan. This issue was resolved in the first constitution when both languages were made the national languages under the constitution of 1956.

Then their majority was falsely decreased and was brought to the level of West Pakistan. This was done in 1955 when parity formula or one unit plan was introduced. In it all the provinces in Western Pakistan were united together to form one province called West Pakistan. The main purpose of this plan was to bring East Bengal on the equal level and to deny the majority it had. Although this plan was implemented but the people of East Pakistan or Bengal never forgot the mistreatment of the ruling elite.

Representation in army:

Pakistan army had a very few people from East Bengal. More than 85% of Pakistan army consisted on the people from two provinces Punjab and N.W.F.P. People of Bengal hardly had any respectable share in national army. This led to the rise of sense of deprivation in the hearts and minds of the people of East Bengal. After eleven years of the establishment of Pakistan martial law regime took over the country. Again like first 11 years Bengalis had no role to play in the new politics of Pakistan because of their representation in the army.

The Military Elite in Pakistan, 1955

	East Bengal	West Pakistan
Lt-General	0	3
Major-General	0	20
Brigadier	1	34
Colonel	1	49
Lt-Colonel	2	198
Major	10	590
Navy Officers	7	593
Air Force officers	40	640

Table [38]

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[38] Dawn, 9 January 1956.

Representation in Government:

Like army the people of East Bengal were poorly represented in important offices of government. The cabinet and other advisors of the government were from the West side of the country. Also the power to make any decision was not in the hands of the East Bengalis.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Central Secretariat Elite Posts, 1955

	East Bengal	West Pakistan
Secretary	0	19
Joint Secretary	3	38
Deputy Secretary	10	123
Under Secretary	38	510

Table [39]

Flight of money from East to West Pakistan:

East Pakistan was the largest supplier of Jute in the world. Other than that many crops of East Pakistan had high demand across the world. Bengal was the first province that East India Company captured. The main reason for their presence was the economic potential of Bengal. They stayed there and spread to other areas of India from here. Since the British rule Bengal was the center of all the major economic activity of sub-continent.

After the independence of Pakistan in 1947 East Bengal still had the economic value. The main grievance of the people of East Pakistan was not that the Federal Government is earning money from there but the Government was not giving anything back. All the development was taking place in West Pakistan while the East side was growing frustration.

The new capital Islamabad was built with the money of East Pakistan or with the major contribution from East.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[39] Pakistan Constitution Assembly Debates vol. 1, 7 January 1956, 1844. Cited in Mizanar Rahman, The Emergence of Bangladesh as a Sovereign State, 68

Six Points of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman:

The political direction of East Pakistan started to deviate from pro Pakistan towards Bengali nationalism as early as 1948. The address of Jinnah in Dhaka in which he declared that Urdu would be the national language of Pakistan was not taken lightly. Agitations started immediately after the speech. Since then Muslim League started to lose popularity. In these circumstances a nationalist party Awami League attracted the inhabitants of East Pakistan by promising them the rights which the government of Pakistan was not giving them.

Sheikh Mujib gained popularity in short time and established himself as the savior of his people. He was able to reach the apex of his political career after he presented his famous six points, which are as under;

1. Both sides of Pakistan should have their own currency. (The reason behind this point was that they believed that due to the West Pakistan the currency does not have value in international market. By separating currency they wished to safe themselves from the impact of slow and weak economy of West Pakistan).
2. The provinces should have full power to collect and set taxes within their jurisdiction. The provinces will pay the due share to the federal government. (This point suggests that they wanted to keep the money with themselves which seems right as well. This way they can develop their part of the country which they think is behind the pace of development of West.)
3. Both sides should have their own paramilitary forces. (There was a strong believe that East Pakistan is very venerable compared to West Pakistan. Another reason was that majority of the army personals were from West Pakistan so there should be parity in this regard.)
4. A directly elected government should be installed at the center and allowed to work properly.
5. Each part should be allowed to make their own trade agreements. (The Federal Government was getting all the profits made through the trade East Pakistan. This point says that now the money would stay in the province.)
6. Federal Government should only control defense and foreign relations. All the other subjects should be given to the province

The nature of these six points suggest that the people who have asked these points do not wish to stay with Pakistan any more.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Elections of 1970:

The first general elections were finally conducted in 1970 December under the LFO issued by Yahiya Khan. According to this ordinance the One Unit Plan was abolished and total number of seats was 300. West Pakistan was allocated 138 seats and East Pakistan was allocated 162 seats. The results of elections were very unique. Awami League won 161 seats in total but all of them were in East Bengal (Pakistan). They were unable to secure a single seat in the Western part. On the other hand the second largest party was Pakistan People's Party and they were able to secure 81 seats in total and all of these seats were located in four provinces of West Pakistan. PPP was completely rejected in Bengal.

According to the rules of democracy it was the right of Awami League to form the government because of their clear majority in the parliament. However the demography of the election results can easily confuse any one. The people of both sides have rejected each other. The verdict of the people is very clear that they reject the other part. The political parties of the East were unable to attract the people of west and vice versa.

Yahiya Khan thought that he has done his job and now it's the politicians turn to form the government and serve the country and its people. He was wrong. He did not see the divide and its impact. Bhutto the leader of PPP said that he has the right to form the government because he was won seats in four out of five provinces of Pakistan. On the other hand Awami League said that they have clear majority so they should be asked to form the government.

Yahiya Khan announced that the first session of the national assembly would be conducted in Dhaka in March 1971. Unfortunately some days earlier this session he postponed it till further notice.

This proved to be the last nail in the coffin. The people of East Bengal started to agitate against this decision and full riots started in Bengal. Army was called and suppression on great scale was launched. Now it was too late the Bengalis were not willing to surrender. Finally on 16th December the East Pakistan became Bangladesh and the Pakistan lost most of its population.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

JOIN ME FOR EASY ACCESS TO EBOOKS & NOTES
+92-310-545-450-3
Css Aspirants ebooks & Notes
https://m.facebook.com/groups/458184910965879
Css Aspirants Forum
http://t.me/CssAspirantsForum
Rules of the group.
*No irrelevant text/pic Islamic pic/videos
*No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked
*Personal text w/o Mutual consent Consider harassment.
Separate Group For Females with verfication
The CSS Group does not hold any rights on shared the Books & Notes
I,m not Responsible for Copyrights.
This book/notes downloaded from the internet.

National Assembly Election Results, 1970

S.no	**Party**	**Punjab**	**Sindh**	**NWFP**	**Bal.**	**West Total**	**East Total**	**Pakistan Total**
1	***AL***	**--**	**--**	**--**	**--**	**--**	***160***	***160***
2	***PPP***	***62***	***18***	***1***	**--**	***81***	**--**	***81***
3	PML (Q)	1	1	7	--	9	--	9
4	CML	7	---	--	--	7	--	7
5	JU (H)	--	--	6	1	7	--	7
6	JUP	4	3	--	--	7	--	7
7	NAP (W)	--	--	3	3	6	--	6
8	JI	1	2	1	--	4	--	4
9	PML (C)	2	--	--	--	2	--	2
10	PDP	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
11	Independent	5	3	7	--	15	1	16
	Total	**82**	**27**	**25**	**4**	**138**	**162**	**300**

Table [40]

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

---

[40] Ian Talbot, 200

Bhutto and his era 1971-77:

Important aspects to be covered:

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. Constitution of 1973
2. Nationalization policy
3. Education and health policy
4. Control over army
5. Steps towards Islamization
6. His downfall
7. Death of Bhutto

Introduction:

Bhutto entered into politics of Pakistan during the rule of Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan made young Bhutto his cabinet member as a foreign minister. During his minister ship he impressed everyone within and outside Pakistan. All historians agree that Bhutto was the best foreign minister Pakistan ever had. In 1965 Pakistan entered in war with India which ended Bhutto's association with Ayub Khan. He was dismissed by Ayub Khan who blamed the war and its handling on Bhutto. After leaving government Bhutto started his own political party called Pakistan People's Party.

He took the support of Marxist ideas and made a very popular slogan 'roti, kapra aur makan, means 'bread, clothing and shelter' for everyone. The major problem of Ayub Khan's era was accumulation of money in the hands of 22 business families; Bhutto carefully targeted this problem and used it in his own favor. He party became popular in very short time. However this popularity was restricted only in the West Pakistan. He and his Party was the spear head the movement against Ayub Khan.

In the elections of 1970 his party was able to grab 81 seats out of 132 in West Pakistan however it failed to win any seat out of 162 seats in East Pakistan. After the separation of Pakistan on 16th December General Yahiya Khan then President and Chief Martial Law Administrator invited Bhutto to take charge of the country. On 20th December Yahiya made Bhutto the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of the country and backed away.

After becoming President Bhutto started to work towards framing the new constitution of Pakistan. He formed the national assembly on the basis of the results of 1970 elections. Within a year the new constitution was completed and it was implemented in 1973. According to the new constitution the form of government was parliamentary and all the executive powers were in the hand of Prime Minister. Bhutto became Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

1. Constitution of 1973:

i. All the executive power will be in the hands of Prime Minister and he will be the head of the government.
ii. The legislation would be bi-camera (consisting of two houses). National assembly would be elected on the basis of population and in senate all the provinces would have equal number of seats regardless of population.
iii. President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan must be Muslims.
iv. The name of the country would be Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
v. All the people of the country including religious minorities would enjoy full civil liberties.
vi. President of Pakistan would be elected in directly through all the assemblies' national assembly, senate and provincial assemblies.

2. Nationalization Policy:

The link of Bhutto's nationalization policy can be found in Ayub era. This policy was a reaction of the economic policy of Ayub Khan. Ayub introduced such economic policies which benefited only a fraction of the population of Pakistan which has been discussed in detail earlier. Since Bhutto started his political party promised common people of Pakistan to make their economic conditions better. During his political campaign he used the slogan, "roti, kapra aur makan", (bread, clothing and shelter).

After coming to power he followed a socialist plan to fulfill his promise. The plan seemed simple. All the private industries and businesses would be taken up by the government. He thought this way the government would open the employment to all and when people will get employment their living conditions would automatically improve.

In other words taking money away from rich and giving it to poor.

Problem according to Bhutto was that private owners of industries limited the number of employees due to which less people got the chance. Bhutto after taking all the industries opened employment. This plan was initially successful but it had long term harmful effects; *a)* Industries started to more salaries than they were earning. Therefore government started to face heavy losses. *b)* By nationalization Bhutto closed the window for private investors. Local and foreign investors kept away from Pakistani market because of the fear of losing industries and investments. Due to this Pakistan did not see industrialization for more than a decade. This affected the economic growth of Pakistan.

3. Education Policy:

Bhutto also ordered to take over many schools. He opened many new government schools and colleges across Pakistan. He tried to homogenize education system of Pakistan. He made Primary education compulsory for every student.

Although Bhutto introduced educational reforms but they were not enough to cope up with the needs of the country. Even today after 30 years of Bhutto, education is the foremost issue the government has to face. Unfortunately political parties hardly pay any attention towards these issues.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

4. Health Policy:

a. Bhutto started Rural Health Centers (RHC) to provide health facilities to the population living in villages. According to the plan there would be one RHC for every 60000 people.
b. He introduced Basic Health Units (BHU) in urban areas. One unit for every 20000 people.
c. Training colleges were setup for the training of medical staff and assistants. Nursing schools were also started to train nurses to work across the country.

5. Control over army:

Before Bhutto's rule the politics of Pakistan was dominated by army under the influence of Ayub Khan. Bhutto took some steps to minimize the role of army and to have a check over them;

a. He ordered the removal 29 important army commanders.

b. He appointed army commanders who were more loyal to him.

c. He established Federal Security Force to assist police in civilian matters. Earlier army used to be called by government for out of control civilian matters. This way army used to get a chance in power politics. FSF was also used for political victimization.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

6. Downfall of Bhutto:

When Bhutto introduced the constitution of 1973 he formed the government on the basis the results of 1970 elections. Opposition parties criticized this step of Bhutto. The main argument was that when those elections were conducted Pakistan included East Pakistan as well and now its new Pakistan with new boundaries. All opposition political parties started protesting against Bhutto's government and demanded him to conduct new elections. Bhutto was confident that he enjoys popularity in majority of the people so he announced to conduct elections.

On the other hand 9 different political parties joined and formed Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). These political parties in their political agitation and campaign were able to gather thousands of people of streets. In the elections PPP won 154 seats out of 200. PNA accused the government of rigging. They said that we do not accept the results of these elections and the government has wrongfully turned the results in its favor with the help of state machinery.

The friction between the two parties grew and both were not willing to step aside. Government ordered to arrest anyone who goes against it. However the protest against the government became stronger. Thousands of people were arrested but the movement did not die. Army played its role and tried to end the situation with their way. On 5th July 1977 Zia-ul-Haq the Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan stepped in and proclaimed martial law in the country. He took all the powers in his hands and arrested Bhutto. He also suspended the constitution of 1973.

JOIN ME FOR EASY ACCESS TO EBOOKS & NOTES
+92 310 545 450 3
Css Aspirants ebooks & Notes
https://m.facebook.com/groups/458184410965870
Css Aspirants Forum
http://t.me/CssAspirantsForum
Rules of the group.
*No irrelevant text/pic Islamic pic/videos
*No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked
*Personal text w/o Mutual consent Consider harassment.
Separate Group For Females with verfication
The CSS Group does not hold any rights on shared the Books & Notes
I,m not Responsible for Copyrights.
This book/notes downloaded from the internet.

National Assembly Results, March 1977

S.no	Party	Candidates	Seats won	% vote
1	PPP	191	155	58.1
2	PNA	168	36	35.4
3	PML-Qayyum	37	1	
4	Independent	324	8	
5	Minor Parties	21	0	
	Total	**741**	**200**	

Table [41]

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

8. Death of Bhutto:

After Bhutto's arrest after the martial law he was released within few days. Zia knew that if he want to establish his rule over Pakistan then he need to get rid of Bhutto by any means. Zia found out that there was a pending case of assassination against Bhutto. He was accused of ordering the murder of Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan father of Ahmed Raza Qasuri. Zia reopened the case and Lahore high court awarded death sentence to Bhutto.

This sparked and international reaction regarding the politics of Pakistan. Many leaders of the world asked Zia not to go for this punishment and leave Bhutto. Only Zia had the power to pardon Bhutto as a president. Bhutto was rearrested in September 1977 and finally was put to death on 4th April 1979.

---

[41] Hasan Askari Zaidi, TheMilitary and Politics in Pakistan (Delhi, 1988), 219

Zia and his Era 1977-88

Zia came in power through martial law on 5th July 1977. He suspended the constitution and promised the people of Pakistan a new government would be formed through elections within three months. Later he stayed in power for the next 11 years. Zia told people that the country is going through a very chaotic phase and we need some one to save us from this turmoil. He presented himself to be that savior and claimed that he would take the country out of all the troubles.

Zia was unable to abrogate the constitution of 1973 because according to it whoever abrogate this constitution will be considered enemy of the country and should be hanged. The main problem in front of Zia was to get support for his rule and legitimize it through any means. For this purpose he took the support of Islam and the religious political parties who were against Bhutto.

Some steps of his Islamization process;

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Islamisation by Zia:

i. He made "Dupatta" compulsory for all Muslims women going in public places.

ii. He prohibited the sale of alcohol openly and specially to Muslims. It could be sold by and to non-Muslims under a license.

iii. He made Islamiat and Pakistan studies compulsory for all students in Pakistan.

iv. He made shariat courts,

v. He introduced and implemented Hudood ordinances. There were four major aspects covered in ; a) offences of wrong allegation b) offences of Zina c) Offences against property and d) prohibition of drinking alcohol.

vi. He also introduced Zakat and Ushur ordinance.

vii. A council of Islamic ideology was setup to recommend different policies in economics and other matters.

viii. He introduced the "Ehteram-e-Ramzan" (respect of the holy month of Ramzan) ordinance.

ix. The government issued the orders for the regular observance of Namaz and s pecial arrangements were made to arrange Zohar in government offices.

x. The degrees granted by the religious institutions were given the equal status to M.A.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Support to Zia's rule:

Till 1979 the rule of Zia was not stable but some international events became the saviors of Zia. Russia attacked Afghanistan. This was a great event and was very significant for the Western World. USA and other Western countries saw it as a spread of socialism which was not acceptable to them at any cost. Afghanistan became the battle field for the all the great powers.

In this situation Western World wanted someone like Zia (who could be easily manipulated) to support them in all aspects. Zia was an army man and country was under martial law so whatever Zia does he can enforce it through power. It was an ideal scenario for the West. They support Zia's rule and return they wished that he support them to check the advances of Russia. West fought whole Afghan War from Pakistan. A new term came in international politics "proxy war" due to this event. Finally West was able to achieve its goals and Russia lost the war and disintegrated.

Secondly another great event of international importance took place which also indirectly supported the rule of Zia. In Iran Islamic Revolution took place. In this revolution the more liberal and modern government was over thrown by Islamic political leader led by Imam Khomeini in 1979. The revolutionaries first attacked US embassy and an international scandal started. In this scenario as well US needed unconditional support from Pakistan. The reason due to which these two events affected Pakistan was that it shared borders with both the countries.

For USA a strong rule like military rule of Zia was ideal under the circumstances because he would do whatever they wished because his rule was illegitimate and USA was a super power. Zia willingly agreed to the wishes of US and secured a strong position for himself in the politics of Pakistan. He later stayed in power till 1988 when a tragic air crash took his life near Bahawalpur.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

The referendum:

Zia conducted a referendum before conducting elections. He wanted to strengthen his position and provide legitimacy to his rule. He knew that he might not get popular vote through elections so he planned a tricky referendum in which he played with his voters. He posted a question which was very difficult for common people to say no to. Instead of asking people a simple question about his presidency like, ‘do you want to see Zia as president’ he framed a question, ‘do you agree with the process of Islamization and do you want to continues or not’.

Most of the population of Pakistan did not take part in this so called referendum. Those who went to take part were unable to deal with this tricky referendum and fell pray of Zia’s wish.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Elections of 1985:

After securing his position through referendum he went for elections. Again like referendum he planned to conduct which suited him and his plans to stay in power. He declared that the elections would be conducted on nonparty basis. This sounds like a joke and mockery of democracy. How is it possible for people to take part in electoral process without their political orientation and association?

The elections were conducted under the strict supervision of army. Muhammad Khan Junejo became the Prime Minister of the so called elections. Even after the elections Zia did not lift Martial Law. Junejo was pressurized by the parliament to lift the Martial Law. However Zia had other plans. He said until the parliament accepts all the amendments made by him he will not lift it. So under the pressure the parliament legalized all the ordinances he made. 59 articles were amended in this single amendment called 8th amendment. The most famous article is 58 ii b, through which the president has the power to dissolve national assembly.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Benazir Bhutto Frist Government 1988-1990:

Introduction:

Benazir Bhutto was the eldest daughter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto the founding member and first chairman of Pakistan People's Party (PPP). She stayed outside of Pakistan throughout her educational years and received education in Oxford University, England. When her father's government was taken over by General Zia ul Haq she with other members of her family was captured by Zia and sent to jail for several years. After coming out of jail she and her family went out of Pakistan.

She decided to permanently join politics and carry the mission of her father forward. She was guided by some senior members of PPP and finally decided to come back to Pakistan in 1986 and take charge of the party. She was married to Asif Ali Zardari in 1986 at Karachi.

In 1988 August General Zia ul Haq died in an air crash near Bahawalpur after which the army of Pakistan decided to back out from active politics and did not announce another military president. The military administration announced election in 1988 which were conducted accordingly.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Formation of Government:

The party position in the elections of 1988 was not very strong however PPP emerged as the single largest party which did not have enough seats to make government on their own. Consequently a coalition government was formed with the support of other political parties. Due to the weak position of Benazir she made some compromises with the army and the caretaker President Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

She agreed to support Ghulam Ishaq Khan in presidential election. Ghulam Ishaq was a former bureaucrat with illustrious career in terms of holding important government posts. She even agreed to continue with the foreign minister of Zia's regime Sahibzada Yaqub Khan because the establishment could not afford any alteration in the foreign policy during those trouble years.

The troika:

The term Troika was coined during the first government of Benazir it means the Prime Minister, President and Army Chief, consult before major important decisions. This was a compromise Benazir had to make if she wanted to form a government. The political forces were weak and army backed out of their own decision rather than the wishes of people or political parties. Army could have taken over again at any time if their role in decision making was challenged.

Friction between Islamabad and Provinces:

According to the constitution of 1973 Pakistan was a federation with four provinces which were responsible for many things concerning their development for example, education (schools, colleges, and universities), health (hospitals, clinics, doctors, nursing schools), roads, some taxes, industrialization etc. However the power to govern these elements was not yet given to provinces in reality.

The provincial governments wanted autonomy over these things so that do not have to depend upon Federal Government any more. The major opposition was posted from Punjab where anti PPP government was ruling under the leadership of Mian Nawaz Sharif. Islamic Democratic Front (Islami Jamhori Ittehad) was a union of pro-Islamic parties under the central leadership of Nawaz Sharif. This party was made b army in 1988 to counter the public popularity of PPP. Army although backed out from politics in 1988 but they did not want any single party to be powerful enough to make major changes in the government so they preferred a dilute political structure.

The headlines of daily newspapers were occupied by comments and remarks of the leadership of PPP and IJI against each other. Benazir had control over federal government and Nawaz Sharif was ruling the largest province of Pakistan with more than 60% population. It was a fight between two giants and people were suffering.

Benazir made Ghulam Mustafa Khar governor of Punjab who had the power to dissolve the provincial assembly on the advice of President. IJI reacted strongly against this appointment. A very shameful incident occurred during 1990 when three FIA (Federal Investigation Agency) agents were arrested by Punjab Police on the orders of Punjab Government, when they were investigating tax evasion by a minister of Punjab Government in one of his factories.

The establishment of Punjab Bank in 1989 was seen a rebellion against the federation of Pakistan by Nawaz Sharif however the constitution provided provisions for such step by provincial governments. The blame game escalated by passing time and both parties targeted next elections. IJI wanted midterm elections so they can test their arm in government. IJI targeted Benazir for her position on Kashmir and relations with India. She was looking forward to defuse tension between the two countries for their better future. This issue was highlighted by IJI and they twisted it to such angles which supported them.

This fight between the two largest parties of Pakistan served no purpose to the people perhaps it served the ambitions of political leadership. There was a debate that democracy could no function in Pakistan because of incompetent political leadership and the 1988-90 government strengthen this believe.

Fall from power:

The decline of Benazir started form Karachi. The government in Islamabad was supported by MQM (Muhajir Quami Movement). The leadership of MQM was facing different challenges than any other political party in Pakistan because of their political agenda. MQM was established due to the marginalization of Muhajir community and people supported them because they stood for them. There were many expectations from MQM due to which the leadership had to work quick.

Before 1988 election a massacre took place in Hyderabad in area of MQM supporters in which around 120 people lost their lives in spray of firing from cars at several places at one time. MQM demanded action from PPP their coalition partners on many such issues and they finally left PPP in 1989 and joined IJI and blamed PPP for turning away from its promises. On the top of it Pucca Qila operation took place in May 1990 when police raided Pucca Qila an old fort in Hyderabad in suspension of criminals hiding in it. Police opened fire and killed 31 supporters of MQM along with women and children. It is reported that women came out with Quran on their heads to stop the shooting but they were unable to do so.

After this incident violence started in Karachi and Hyderabad. The president of Pakistan Ghulam Ishaq Khan used his power to dismiss government under the article 58-2,b. He said the government has failed to control violence, they are corrupt, they introduced nepotism and they are incompetent.

Some achievements of Benazir:

1. First Women Bank was opened by Benazir for giving larger role to women of Pakistan.

2. There was a ban on trade unions during the time period of Zia. Benazir lifted the ban and allowed worker to make unions and demand their rights from employers.
3. In1971 Bangladesh was created and it became a member of Commonwealth. Since then Pakistan left commonwealth on protest. In 1988 Benazir government rejoined commonwealth.
4. Women were given job on a greater scale. They were now more government job than ever. They went into police and judiciary.

Nawaz Sharif

Introduction:

Nawaz Sharif belonged to a well-established business family of Punjab. He started hi politics during the time of Zia ul Haq, who was responsible for many business favors to Nawaz Sharif. Even today the sugar mill owned by Sharif in Pakpattan in Punjab has Zia ul Haq's name on the founding stone. He was in fact brought into politics by military establishment to counter PPP in Punjab and later across the country. He became the Chief Minister of Punjab n 1986 due to good graces of Zia. He became the leader of IJI in 1988 when military establishment founded this party by bribes given to many leaders. The founder of IJI General Asif Nawaz has now told the story of its establishment and Mr. Asghar Khan has challenged the founding of IJI in court in a case, which is still pending in Supreme Court.

In t 1990 elections Nawaz Sharif and his party claimed 105 seats against 45 seats of PPP. IJI emerged as the single largest party in Pakistan and went to form federal government. After forming the government he started to works towards his policies which were business friendly.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Economic policies:

Being a business man he believed in free market economy and decided to privatize 89 government owned organization which included railways, shipping, energy, telecommunication etc. Uncontrolled privatization was dangerous to Pakistan's economy and people because it would allow owners to maximize their profit without giving benefits to their workers. During his time millions of dollars came in for investment.

He started a yellow cab scheme in which loans were given to people who could become owners of a taxi and pay the government later through its income. This was a very popular scheme and thousands of households benefitted with it.

He fixed the minimum wages for workers to be 1500 Rs.. His policies were heavily criticized by PPP who compared his policies with plundering of Pakistan. His economic efforts generally benefitted the wealthy due to encouragement private business without governmental control.

Gulf war and Nuclear issue:

In 1990 Gulf War started when Ghulam Mustaf Jatoi was care taker Prime Minister. He supported USA on its advances on Iraq and also sent Pakistani soldiers to support US. When Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister he continued the policy of support. This was not taken as a good move by many Pakistani's including many supporters of Nawaz. He face huge criticism but did not change his stance.

One of the reasons for Pakistan's support was that US had put some economic and military sanctions on Pakistan on the doubt that Pakistan is developing it nuclear weapons. US demanded to immediately stop the nuclear program. Pakistan's government thought by supporting US in Gulf war they might get some benefits, however US did not lift the sanctions even after unconditional support by Pakistan.

Internal disturbances:

During Afghan war Pakistan became a market for illegal weapons and drugs. Thousands of Afghan Refugees came to Pakistan who had their links back at home. All the weapons used in Afghan war came to Pakistan which were being bought by criminals and drug dealers.

Nawaz Sharif faced the challenge of dealing with this menace with firm hand. He took many steps towards controlling these elements but did not succeed. He also made Speedy Trial Courts to conduct and conclude cases related to crimes then and there so more and more cases can be solved. However criticism was raised against the function of these courts and dealing with innocent because it had only one chance of appeal.

Reasons for removal from Power:

Bank scandals were the first major blows to the government of Nawaz Sharif. A bank BCCI (bank of Credits and Commerce International) was started by a Pakistani banker Agha Hasan Abedi in 1972. This bank dealt with most of the prominent politicians and business men of Pakistan including Sharif family who were major costumer of the bank.

The bank was black listed by England and they closed all operations of the bank on the charges of frauds, money laundering and criminality. However Pakistan's government supported the bank and allowed it to function in Pakistan. US government wanted to arrest Agha Hasan and extradite him fo America, but Nawaz Sharif refused to hand him over.

On the other hand Nawaz Sharif started a military operation on it coalition partner MQM in Karachi. Army wasted to conduct this operation against the criminals of Sind. There was a division of opinion with in Nawaz's leadership Chaudhry Nisar was of the opinion that it should not target MQM because it will further deteriorate the situation. However the operation was given green signal and Karachi became an urban battlefield. According to MQM thousands of it supporters were killed under the shadow of the operation.

Ghulam Ishaq Khan the president of Pakistan once again decided to use his power to dissolve the national and provincial assemblies. He did it and framed same allegations against IJI government as Benazir's government. Nawaz went Supreme Court against the use of 58-2b by president. Supreme Court favored Nawaz and ordered the restoration of assemblies calling the act by president as illegal.

After restoration Nawaz under the pressure of military establishment finally decided to resign and call for fresh elections. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was also forced by army to resign as president.

Languages:

Why Urdu was chosen as the national language of Pakistan?

At the time of independence there were many languages spoken in Pakistan, for example Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pashto. However all of these languages were associated with a particular province or people. There was no single language which was spoken all across Pakistan. The other fact was that all the above mentioned languages were regional and people speaking them could not understand each other's language.

In these circumstances choosing any one regional language over the other could create regional jealousies and hatred. Urdu was a language which was not associated with any one province. Urdu could also work as a bridging language between the different communities of Pakistan. This way no province of Pakistan can say that the government has neglected them over other province.

Secondly Urdu was a language which originated in sub-continent some 8 centuries ago amongst Muslims. The early Muslim invaders had different races in their army for example Arabs, Turks, Persian, and Afghans etc. These people when started to communicate with each other a new language was formed which had words from all the languages these people spoke. So Urdu had always been associated with Muslims of sub-continent. Pakistan was a country made for the Muslims of sub-continent so their cultural identity was Urdu and this factor was considered by the early Government of Pakistan before choosing Urdu as a national language.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of General History
University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Development of provincial languages by the government:

Many steps have been taken by the government to promote provincial languages in their respective provinces.

i. The government universities offer Master's level degree in their regional language, for example Karachi University and Sind University situated in Sind have Sindhi department where students study Sindhi literature. Likewise Punjab University has Punjabi department which offers Punjabi literature.
ii. The government supports the institutions which promote regional languages. For example newspapers are being published in the regional languages which are authorized by the government.
iii. On the national television PTV news was telecasted in provincial language in respective province.

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of General History
University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

List of Secretary of state for India

1.	Edward Henry Stanley, Lord Stanley	(September 2, 1858 - June 11, 1859)
2.	Sir Charles Wood (resigned after being injured in a hunting accident)	(June 18, 1859 - February 16, 1866)
3.	George Frederick Samuel Robinson, 3rd Earl de Grey	(February 16, 1866 - June 26, 1866)
4.	Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, Viscount Cranborne	(July 6, 1866 - March 8, 1867)
5.	Sir Stafford Henry Northcote	(March 8, 1867 - December 1, 1868)
6.	George Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of Argyll	(December 9, 1868 - February 17, 1874)
7.	Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury	(February 21, 1874 - April 2, 1878)
8.	Gathorne Gathorne-Hardy, 1st Viscount Cranbrook	(April 2, 1878 - April 21, 1880)
9.	Spencer Compton Cavendish, Marquess of Hartington	(April 28, 1880 - December 16, 1882)
10.	John Wodehouse, 1st Earl of Kimberley	(December 16, 1882 - June 9, 1885)
11.	Lord Randolph Churchill	(June 24, 1885 - January 28, 1886)
12.	John Wodehouse, 1st Earl of Kimberley	(February 6, 1886 - July 20, 1886)
13.	Sir Richard Assheton Cross, 1st Viscount Cross (1886)	(August 3, 1886 - August 11, 1892)
14.	John Wodehouse, 1st Earl of Kimberley	(August 18, 1892 - March 10, 1894)
15.	Henry Hartley Fowler	(March 10, 1894 - June 21, 1895)
16.	Lord George Hamilton	(July 4, 1895 - October 9, 1903)
17.	St John Brodrick	(October 9, 1903 - December 4, 1905)
18.	John Morley, 1st Viscount Morley (1908)	(Dec. 10, 1905 - November 3, 1910)
19.	Robert Crewe-Milnes, 1st Earl of Crewe, 1st Marquess of Crewe (1911)	(November 3, 1910 - March 7, 1911)
20.	John Morley, 1st Viscount Morley	(March 7, 1911 - May 25, 1911)
21.	Robert Crewe-Milnes, 1st Marquess of Crewe	(May 25, 1911 - May 25, 1915)
22.	Austen Chamberlain	(May 25, 1915 - July 17, 1917)
23.	Edwin Samuel Montagu	(July 17, 1917 - March 19, 1922)

24.	William Peel, 2nd Viscount Peel	(March 19, 1922 - January 22, 1924)
25.	Sydney Olivier, 1st Baron Olivier	(January 22, 1924 - November 3, 1924)
26.	Frederick Smith, Earl of Birkenhead	(November 6, 1924 - October 18, 1928)
27.	William Peel, 2nd Viscount Peel	(October 18, 1928 - June 4, 1929)
28.	William Wedgwood Benn	(June 7, 1929 - August 24, 1931)
29.	Sir Samuel Hoare	(August 25, 1931 - June 7, 1935)
30.	Lawrence Dundas, 2nd Marquess of Zetland	(June 7, 1935 - May 28, 1937)

List of Governors-General

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Governors-General of the Presidency of Fort William, 1774–1833

1.	Warren Hastings,	20 October 1773–1 February 1785
2.	Sir John MacPherson,	1 Feb. 1785–12 September 1786, provisional
3.	The Earl Cornwallis, 1792, The Marquess Cornwallis)	12 Sept. 1786–28 Oct. 1793, first time (from
4.	Sir John Shore, 28 October	1793–March 1798
5.	Sir Alured Clarke, March	1798–18 May 1798, provisional
6.	The Earl of Mornington, Marquess Wellesley)	18 May 1798–30 July 1805 (from 1799, The
7.	The Marquess Cornwallis,	30 July 1805–5 October 1805, second time
8.	Sir George Hilario Barlow,	10 October 1805–31 July 1807, provisional
9.	The Lord Minto,	31 July 1807–4 October 1813
10.	The Earl of Moira, Marquess of Hastings)	4 October 1813–9 January 1823 (from 1817, The
11.	John Adam,	9 January 1823–1 August 1823, provisional
12.	The Lord Amherst, Earl Amherst)	1 August 1823–13 March 1828 (from 1826, The
13.	William Butterworth Bayley,	13 March 1828–4 July 1828, provisional
14.	Lord William Bentinck	4 July 1828–1833

Governors-General of India, 1833–1858

1.	Lord William Bentinck	1833–20 March 1835, continued
2.	Sir Charles Metcalfe,	20 March 1835–4 March 1836, provisional
3.	The Lord Auckland,	4 March 1836–28 February 1842 (from 1839, The Earl of Auckland)
4.	The Lord Ellenborough,	28 February 1842–June 1844
5.	William Wilberforce Bird,	June 1844–23 July 1844, provisional
6.	Sir Henry Hardinge,	23 July 1844–12 January 1848 (from 1846, The Viscount Hardinge)
7.	The Earl of Dalhousie,	12 January 1848–28 February 1856 (from 1849, The Marquees of Dalhousie)
8.	The Viscount Canning,	28 February 1856–1 November 1858

Governors-General and Viceroys of India, 1858–1947

1.	The Viscount Canning,	1 November 1858–21 March 1862, continued (from 1859, The Earl Canning)
2.	The Earl of Elgin,	21 March 1862–20 November 1863
3.	Sir Robert Napier,	21 November 1863–2 December 1863, provisional
4.	Sir William Denison,	2 December 1863–12 January 1864, provisional
5.	Sir John Lawrence,	12 January 1864–12 January 1869
6.	The Earl of Mayo,	12 January 1869–8 February 1872
7.	Sir John Strachey,	9 February 1872–23 February 1872, provisional
8.	The Lord Napier,	24 February 1872–3 May 1872, provisional
9.	The Lord Northbrook,	3 May 1872–12 April 1876
10.	The Lord Lytton,	12 April 1876–8 June 1880
11.	The Marquess of Ripon,	8 June 1880–13 December 1884
12.	The Earl of Dufferin,	13 December 1884–10 December 1888
13.	The Marquess of Lansdowne,	10 December 1888–11 October 1894
14.	The Earl of Elgin,	11 October 1894–6 January 1899
15.	The Lord Curzon of Kedleston,	6 January 1899–18 November 1905
16.	The Lord Ampthill,	1904, acting for the Lord Curzon of Kedleston
17.	The Earl of Minto,	18 November 1905–23 November 1910
18.	The Lord Hardinge of Penshurst,	23 November 1910–4 April 1916

19. The Lord Chelmsford, 4 April 1916–2 April 1921
20. The Earl of Reading, 2 April 1921–3 April 1926
21. The Lord Irwin, 3 April 1926–18 April 1931
22. The Earl of Willingdon, 18 April 1931–18 April 1936
23. The Marquess of Linlithgow, 18 April 1936–1 October 1943
24. The Viscount Wavell, 1 October 1943–21 February 1947
25. The Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, 21 February 1947–15 August 1947

Governors-General of India, 1947–1950

1. The Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, 15 August 1947–June 1948, continued
2. Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari, June 1948–25 January 1950

Governors-General of Pakistan, 1947–1958

1. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 15 August 1947–11 September 1948
2. Khwaja Nazimuddin, 14 September 1948–17 October 1951
3. Ghulam Mohammad, 17 October 1951–6 October 1955
4. Iskander Mirza, 6 October 1955–23 March 1956

Prime Ministers of Pakistan

1) Liaquat Ali Khan	(August 14, 1947 to October 16, 1951)
2) Khawaja Nazimuddin	(October 17, 1951 – April 17, 1953)
3) Muhammad Ali Bogra	(April 17, 1953 – August 12, 1955)
4) Chaudhry Muhammad Ali	(August 12, 1955 – September 12, 1956)
5) Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy	(September 12, 1956 – October 17, 1957)
6) Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar	(October 17, 1957 – December 16, 1957)
7) Sir Feroz Khan Noon	(December 16, 1957 – October 7, 1958)
8) Mohammad Ayub Khan	(October 7, 1958 – October 28, 1958) ,(chief martial law administrator to 24 Oct 1958).

From 1958 until 1973, no person held the title of Prime Minister due to martial law.

9) Nurul Amin	(December 7, 1971 – December 20, 1971)
10) Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	(August 14, 1973 – July 5, 1977)

The office was again suspended from July 5, 1977 until March 24, 1985 due to martial law.

11) Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq	(July 5, 1977 – March 24, 1985) ,(chief martial law administrator).
12) Muhammad Khan Junejo	(March 24, 1985 – May 29, 1988)
(Again) Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq,	(June 9, 1988 – August 17, 1988)
13) Benazir Bhutto	(Dec 2, 1988 – August 6, 1990)
14) Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi	(August 6, 1990 – November 6, 1990)
15) Nawaz Sharif	(November 6, 1990 – April 18, 1993)
16) Balakh Sher Mazari	(April 18, 1993 – May 26, 1993)
(Restored) Nawaz Sharif	(May 26, 1993 – July 18, 1993)
17) Moin Qureshi	(July 18, 1993 – October 19, 1993)
(Again) Benazir Bhutto	(October 19, 1993 – November 5, 1996)
18) Miraj Khalid, (interim)	(November 5, 1996 – February 17, 1997)
(Again) Nawaz Sharif	(February 17, 1997 – October 12, 1999)

On October 12, 1999, Pervez Musharraf overthrew Nawaz Sharif, and took the title of Chief Executive. On June 20, 2001, he was made the President of Pakistan.

19) Pervez Musharraf	(October 12, 1999 – November 23, 2002) ,(de facto to 14 Oct 1999, from 14 Oct 1999 chief executive)

Elections were held on October 10, 2002 leading to the return of the position of Prime Minister

20) Zafarullah Khan Jamali	(November 21, 2002 – June 26, 2004)
21) Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain	(June 30 2004, August 28 2004
22) Shaukat Aziz	(August 28, 2004- November 16, 2007
23) Mian Muhammad Sumru	(November 16, 2007 – March 25, 2008
24) Sayyed Yousuf Raza Gillani	(March 25, 2008 – Present

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Presidents of Pakistan:

1) Iskander Mirza	(March 23, 1956 to October 27, 1958)
2) Muhammad Ayub Khan*	(October 27, 1958 - March 25, 1969)
3) Yahya Khan*	(March 25, 1969 - December 20, 1971)
4) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	(December 20, 1971 - August 13, 1973)
5) Fazal Ilahi Chaudhry	(13-Aug-1973 to September 16, 1978)
6) Muhammad Zia ul-Haq*	(September 16, 1978 - August 17, 1988)
7) Ghulam Ishaq Khan	(August 17, 1988 - July 18, 1993)
8) Wasim Sajjad	(July 18, 1993 - November 14, 1993)
9) Farooq Leghari	(November 14, 1993 - December 2, 1997)
10) Wasim Sajjad	(December 2, 1997 - January 1, 1998)
11) Muhammad Rafiq Tarar	(January 1, 1998 - June 20, 2001)
12) Pervez Musharraf*	(June 20, 2001 – August 18 2008)
13) Muhammad Mian Soomro	(August 18 2008 – September 9, 2008)
14) Asif Ali Zardari	(September 9, 2008 – till present)

1. http://historypak.com/first-cabinet-1947/

“The first cabinet of Pakistan took oath on 15th August 1947. It included the following members:

Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defense

I.I. Chundrigar Minister for Commerce, Industries and Works

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar Minister for Communications

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Minister for Food, Agriculture and Health (In December he was shifted to Evacuee and Refugee Rehabilitation).

Jogendra Nath Mandal Minister for Labour and Law

Ghulam Muhammad Minister for Finance

Dr. M. Moiz Khan
Assistant Professor
Dept. of History, University of Karachi
0322-2391591, moiz200@yahoo.com

Fazlur Rahman Minister for Interior, Information and Education

In December **Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** was inducted as Minister for Foreign Affairs and Common wealth relations and **Abdus Sattar Pirzada** was given the portfolio of Food, Agriculture and Health. Raja Ghazanfar Ali’s ministry was changed and he was made in charge of the Ministry of Evacuee and Refugee Rehabilitation.

Quaid-i-Azam also asked for many skilled British technocrats to stay and serve in the Pakistani government; 3 out of the 4 provincial governors were British. Sir Frederick Bourne was the Governor of East Benga, Sir Francis Mudie the Governor of West Punjab and Sir George Cunningham the Governor of N.W.F.P. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Governor of Sindh) was the only local governor, while Balochistan did not have a governor as it was Governor-General’s province. All chiefs of the armed forces were British as well – General Sir Frank Messervey chief of the Royal Pakistan Army, Air Vice-Marshal Perry-Keane chief of the Royal Pakistan Air Force, and Admiral Jefford the chief of Royal Pakistan Navy. The financial advisor to the Governor-General, Sir Archibald Rowland, was also British.

During the early days after its creation, Pakistan faced a myriad of crisis and difficulties and the ministers often found themselves helpless to tackle them; so they looked towards Jinnah to help them with these problems. The first cabinet of Pakistan passed a special resolution to allow Jinnah to deal with the problems faced by provincial ministers. Jinnah also helped ministers in policy making. In case of a difference of opinions Quaid’s decision was to be final. All these rights were given to Jinnah until new constitution came into force.

Quaid had a colossal task ahead of him, during the early days of Pakistan but he remained committed in his duties and under his dynamic leadership and guidance the nation proved that it had the determination to succeed. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, undoubtedly enjoyed extraordinary powers but these powers were given to him by the Cabinet to meet the unexpected circumstances that clearly demanded extraordinary actions.

Even though nation building has proved to be a difficult task for Pakistan, under the guidance of Jinnah and his competent cabinet members it continued to show its spirit and capacity to survive and adapt to changing circumstances. James A. Muchener, a visitor to Pakistan in the early years, wrote, “I have never seen so hardworking a government as Pakistan’s. It is literally licking itself by its own intellectual book-straps”.

www.facebook.com/CSSExamPrep

List of Governors of Punjab:

- Sir Robert Francis Mudie (1947-1949)
- Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar (1949-1951)
- Mr I I Chundrigar (1951-1953)
- Mian Aminuddin, ICS (1953-1954)
- Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola (June-November 1954)
-

Name	**Took office**	**Left office**	**Affiliation**
Lt Gen Attiqur Rahman	1 Jul1970	23 Dec 1971	Military Administration
Ghulam Mustafa Khar	23 Dec 1971	12 November 1973	Pakistan Peoples Party
Sadiq Hussain Qureshi	12 November 1973	14 Mar 1975	Pakistan Peoples Party
Ghulam Mustafa Khar	14 Mar 1975	31 Jul 1975	Pakistan Peoples Party
Mohammad Abbas Abbasi	31 Jul 1975	5 Jul 1977	Pakistan Peoples Party
Justice Aslam Riaz Hussain	5 Jul 1977	18 Sept 1978	Pakistan Peoples Party
Lt Gen Sawar Khan	18 Sept 1978	1 May 1980	Military Administration
Lt Gen Ghulam Jilani Khan	1 May 1980	30 Dec 1985	Military Administration
Sajjad Hussain Qureshi	30 Dec 1985	9 Dec 1988	Civil Administration
Gen Tikka Khan	9 Dec 1988	6 Aug 1990	Pakistan Peoples Party

Mian Muhammad Azhar	6 Aug 1990	25 Apr 1993	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad
Chaudhary Altaf Hussain	25 Apr 1993	19 Jul 1993	Pakistan Peoples Party
Lt Gen Muhammad Iqbal	19 Jul 1993	26 Mar 1994	Independent
Chaudhary Altaf Hussain	26 Mar 1994	22 May 1995	Pakistan Peoples Party
Justice Muhammad Ilyas	22 May 1995	19 Jun 1995	Acting
Lt Gen Raja Saroop Khan	19 Jun 1995	6 Nov 1996	Pakistan Peoples Party
Justice Khalilur Rehman	6 Nov 1996	11 Nov 1996	Acting
Khawaja Tariq Rahim	11 Nov 1996	11 Mar 1997	Pakistan Peoples Party
Shahid Hamid	11 Mar 1997	18 Aug 1999	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
Lt Gen Muhammad Safdar	25 Oct 1999	29 Oct 2001	Military Administration
Lt Gen Khalid Maqbool	29 Oct 2001	16 May 2008	Military Administration
Chaudhry Muhammad Afzal Sahi	27 Nov 2002	11 Apr 2008	Acting
Salmaan Taseer*	17 May 2008	4 Jan 2011	Pakistan Peoples Party
Rana Muhammad Iqbal	4 Jan 2011	13 Jan 2011	Acting
Latif Khosa	13 Jan 2011	22 Dec 2012[1]	Pakistan Peoples Party
Makhdoom Syed Ahmed Mahmud	25 Dec 2012	13 May 2013	Pakistan Muslim League (F)
Mohammad Sarwar	2 Aug 2013[2]	29 January 2015[3]	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
Malik Muhammad Rafique Rajwana	7 May 2015[4]	Incumbent	Pakistan Muslim League (N)

List of Governors of Sindh:[42]

30		**Dr. Ishrat Ul Ebad Khan**	Dec 27, 2002 TO To date
29		**Mr. Mohammadmian Soomro**	May 25, 2000 TO Dec 26, 2002
28		**Air Marshal Azim Daud Pota**	Oct 25, 1999 TO May 24, 2000
27		**Mr. Mamnoon Hussain**	Jun 19, 1999 TO Oct 12, 1999
26		**Lt. Gen.(Retd) Moin-ud-Din Haider, HI (M)**	Mar 17, 1997 TO Jun 17, 1999
25		**Mr. Kamal uddin Azfar**	May 22, 1995 TO Mar 16, 1997
24		**Mr. Mahmood A. Haroon**	Jan 23, 1994 TO May 21, 1995
23		**Hakim Muhammad Saeed**	Jul 19, 1993 TO Jan 23, 1994
22		**Mr. Mahmood A. Haroon**	Aug 6, 1990 TO Jul 18, 1993
21		**Justice (Retd) Fakhruddin G. Ebrahim**	Apr 19, 1989 TO Aug 6, 1990
20		**Justice (Retd) Qadeeruddin Ahmed**	Sep 12, 1988 TO Apr 18, 1989

---

[42] http://www.governorsindh.gov.pk/governors/

19		**General (Retd) Rahimuddin, HI (M).Bt**	Jun 24, 1988 TO Sep 11, 1988
18		**Mr. Ashraf W. Tabani**	Jan 5, 1987 TO Jun 23, 1988
17		**Lt. Gen. Jahan Dad Khan**	Apr 7, 1984 TO Jan 4, 1987
16		**Lt. Gen. S.M. Abbasi**	Sep 18, 1978 TO Apr 6, 1984
15		**Justice (Retd) Abdul Kadir Shaikh**	Jul 6, 1977 TO Sep 17, 1978
14		**Al-Haj Muhammad Dilawar Khanji**	Mar 1, 1976 TO Jul 5, 1977
13		**Begum Raâ€™ana Liaquat Ali Khan**	Feb 15, 1973 TO Feb 28, 1976
12		**Mir Rasool Bux Talpur**	Jun 1, 1972 TO Feb 14, 1973
11		**Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto**	Dec 22, 1971 TO Apr 29, 1972
10		**Lt. Gen. Rakhman Gul**	Jul 1, 1970 TO Dec 22, 1971
9		**Nawab Iftikhar Hussain**	Jun 24, 1954 TO Oct 14, 1955
8		**Mr. Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola**	Aug 12, 1953 TO Jun 23, 1954

7		**Mr. Goerge Baxandall Constantine**	May 2, 1953 TO Aug 11, 1953
6		**Mian Aminuddin C.S.P**	Nov 19, 1952 TO May 1, 1953
5		**Shaikh Din Muhammad**	Oct 7, 1948 TO Nov 8, 1952
4		**Shaikh G.H. Hidayatullah**	Aug 14, 1947 TO Oct 4, 1948
3		**Sir Robert Francis Mudie**	Jan 15, 1947 TO Aug 13, 1947
2		**Sir Hugh Dow**	Apr 1, 1941 TO Jan 14, 1947
1		**Sir Lancelot Graham**	Apr 1, 1936 TO Mar 31, 1941

List of Governors KPK

Name	Took office	Left office	Affiliation
Sir George Cunningham	15 Aug 1947	9 Apr 1948	Indian Civil Service
Sir Ambrose Dundas Flux Dundas	19 Apr 1948	16 Jul 1949	Indian Civil Service
Sahibzada Mohammad Khurshid	16 Jul 1949	14 Jan 1950	Independent
Honourable Justice Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of Chenna (acting)	14 Jan 1950	17 Feb 1950	Judiciary
Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar	17 Feb 1950	23 Nov 1951	Muslim League
Khwaja Shahabuddin	24 Nov 1951	17 Nov 1954	Muslim League
Qurban Ali Shah	17 Nov 1954	14 Oct 1955	Independent
Provinces merged to form West Pakistan (14 October 1955 – 1 July 1970)			
Lt Gen K.M. Azhar Khan	1 Jul 1970	25 Dec 1971	Military Administration
Hayat Sherpao	25 Dec 1971	30 Apr 1972	Pakistan Peoples Party
Arbab Sikandar Khan	29 Apr 1972	15 Feb 1973	National Awami Party
Aslam Khattak	15 Feb 1973	24 May 1974	National Awami Party
Maj Gen Syed Ghawas	24 May 1974	1 Mar 1976	Pakistan Peoples Party
Maj Gen Naseerullah Babar	1 Mar 1976	6 Jul 1977	Pakistan Peoples Party
Abdul Hakeem Khan	6 Jul 1977	17 Sept 1978	Civil Administration

Lt Gen Fazl-Haq	11 Oct 1978	12 Dec 1985	Military Administration
Nawabzada Abdul Ghafoor Khan Hoti	30 Dec 1985	18 Apr 1986	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam
Syed Usman Ali Shah	18 Apr 1986	27 Aug 1986	Civil Administration
Fida Mohammad Khan	27 Aug 1986	16 Jun 1988	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
Bri Gen Amir Gulistan Janjua	16 Jun 1988	19 Jul 1993	Independent
Maj Gen Khurshid Ali Khan	19 Jul 1993	5 Nov 1996	Independent
Justice Said Ibne Ali	5 Nov 1996	11 Nov 1996	Independent
Lt Gen Arif Bangash	11 Nov 1996	17 Aug 1999	Independent
Miangul Aurangzeb	18 Aug 1999	21 Oct 1999	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
Lt Gen Mohammad Shafiq	21 Oct 1999	14 Aug 2000	Military Administration
Lt Gen Iftikhar Hussain Shah	14 Aug 2000	15 Mar 2005	Military Administration
Commander Khalilur Rehman	15 Mar 2005	23 May 2006	Pakistan Muslim League (Q)
Lt Gen Ali Jan Aurakzai	24 May 2006	7 Jan 2008	Military Administration
Owais Ahmed Ghani	7 Jan 2008	9 Feb 2011	Independent
Syed Masood Kausar	10 Feb 2011	10 Feb 2013	Pakistan Peoples Party[1]
Shaukatullah Khan	10 Feb 2013	25 March 2015	Pakistan Peoples Party[2]
Mehtab Ahmed Khan Abbasi	15 April 2015	08 February 2016	Pakistan Muslim League (N)

Iqbal Zafar Jhagra	25 Feb 2016	present	Pakistan Muslim League (N)

List of Governors Balochistan:

#	Governor	Term start	Term end	Political affiliation
1	Lt. General Riaz Hussain	1 July 1970	25 December 1971	military
2	Nawab Ghous Bakhsh Raisani	29 December 1971	13 April 1972	Independent
3	Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo	29 April 1972	15 February 1973	National Awami Party
4	Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti	15 February 1973	2 January 1974	Jamhoori Watan Party
5	Ahmad Yar Khan	2 January 1974	5 July 1977	Independent
6	Khuda Bakhsh Marri	5 July 1977	18 September 1978	Independent
7	Rahimuddin Khan	18 September 1978	12 March 1984	Military
8	F.S. Khan Lodhi	22 March 1984	18 November 1984	Military
9	Khushdil Khan Afridi	18 November 1984	30 December 1985	Military
10	Musa Khan	30 December 1985	12 March 1991	Military

11	Mir Hazar Khan Khoso	12 March 1991	13 July 1991	Independent
12	Gul Mohammad Khan Jogezai	13 July 1991	19 July 1993	Independent
13	Sardar Abdur Rahim Durrani	19 July 1993	19 May 1994	Military
14	Imran Ullah Khan	19 May 1994	8 April 1997	Pakistan People's Party
15	Mir Abdul Jabbar	10 April 1997	22 April 1997	Independent
16	Miangul Aurangzeb	22 April 1997	17 August 1999	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
17	Sayed Muhammad Fazal Agha	18 August 1999	12 October 1999	Independent
18	Amir-ul-Mulk Mengal	25 October 1999	29 January 2003	Independent
19	Abdul Qadir Baloch	1 February 2003	11 August 2003	Military
20	Owais Ahmed Ghani	11 August 2003	5 January 2008	Independent
21	Justice Amanullah Yaseenzai	5 January 2008	28 February 2008	Independent
22	Nawab Zulfikar Ali Magsi	28 February 2008	11 June 2013	Pakistan People's Party

23	Muhammad Khan Achakzai	11 June 2013	Present	Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party

Tenure	**Governor of East Bengal**
15 August 1947 - 31 March 1950	Sir Frederick Chalmers Bourne
31 March 1950 - 31 March 1953	Sir Feroz Khan Noon
31 March 1953 - 29 May 1954	Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman
29 May 1954 - May 1955	Iskandar Ali Mirza

Chief Justices of Punjab

11.	Sir Abdul Rashid	1946 - 1948			
12.	Muhammad Munir	1949 - 1954			
13.	Dr. Sheikh Abdul Rahman	1954 - 1955		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	As result of One Unit formation, he was made Chief Justice West Pakistan High Court during 1955-1958
14.	Malik Rustam Kayani	1958 - 1962			
15.	Sheikh Manzur Qadir	1962 - 1963			
16.	Abdul Aziz Khan	1963 - 1965			
17.	Inamullah Khan	1965 - 1967			
18.	Waheed-ud-Din Ahmad	1967 - September 22, 1969		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
19.	Qadeer-ud-Din Ahmad	1969 - 1970			
20.	Sheikh Anwarul Haq	1970 - October 16, 1972		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
21.	Sardar Muhammad Iqbal	October 16, 1972 - 1976			

22.	Aslam Riaz Hussain	1976 - January 11, 1978		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
23.	Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain	January 12, 1978- June 1, 1980		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
24.	Shamim Hussain Qadri	1980 - 1982			
25.	Dr. Javed Iqbal	1982 - October 5, 1986		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
26.	Ghulam Mujaddid Mirza	1986 - April 21, 1988		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
27.	Abdul Shakurul Salam	1988 - 1989		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
28.	Mohammad Rafique Tarar	1989 - October 31, 1991		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
29.	Mian Mahboob Ahmad	1991 - 1994			
30.	Muhammad Ilyas	1994 - 1995			
*.	Irshad Hassan	June 19,			Acting Chief Justice

	Khan	1995 - April 15, 1996			
31.	Chaudhary Zahid	May 15, 1996 - December 17, 1996		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
32.	Sh. Ijaz Nisar	December 17, 1996 - May 28, 1997		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
33.	Sheikh Riaz Ahmad	May 29, 1997 - November 3, 1997		Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
34.	Rashid Aziz Khan	November 4, 1997 - February 4, 2000			
35.	Mian Allah Nawaz	February 5, 2000 - July 13, 2000	Muhammad Rafiq Tarar		
36.	Falak Sher	July 14, 2000 - September 6, 2002	Muhammad Rafiq Tarar	Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
37.	Iftikhar Hussain Chaudhry	September 7, 2002 - December 31, 2007	Pervez Musharraf	Normal Retirement	took oath on PCO 1999 and later PCO 2007 as sitting judge of Lahore High Court
38.	Sayed Zahid	January 1,	Pervez	Elevated to	took oath

	Hussain	2008 - April 12, 2009	Musharraf	Supreme Court of Pakistan	on PCO 1999 and later PCO 2007 as sitting judge of Lahore High Court
39.	Khawaja Muhammad Sharif	April 13, 2009 - December 8, 2010	Asif Ali Zardari	Retired	
40.	Ijaz Ahmad Chaudhry	December 9, 2010 - November 16, 2011	Asif Ali Zardari	Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
41.	Sheikh Azmat Saeed	November 17, 2011 - May 31, 2012	Asif Ali Zardari	Elevated to Supreme Court of Pakistan	
42.	Umar Ata Bandial	1 June 2012 – 17 June 2014	Asif Ali Zardari	elevated to supreme court of pakistan	
43.	Khawaja Imtiaz Ahmad	17 June 2014 – 05 November 2015	Mamnoon Hussain		
44.	Ijaz Ul Ahsan	06 November 2015 – Present	Mamnoon Hussain		

JOIN ME FOR EASY ACCESS TO EBOOKS & NOTES
+92-310-545-450-3
Css Aspirants ebooks & Notes
https://m.facebook.com/groups/458184410965870
Css Aspirants Forum
http://t.me/CssAspirantsForum
Rules of the group.
*No irrelevant text/pic Islamic pic/videos
*No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked
*Personal text w/o Mutual consent Consider harassment.
Separate Group For Females with verfication
The CSS Group does not hold any rights on shared the Books & Notes
I,m not Responsible for Copyrights.
This book/notes downloaded from the internet.